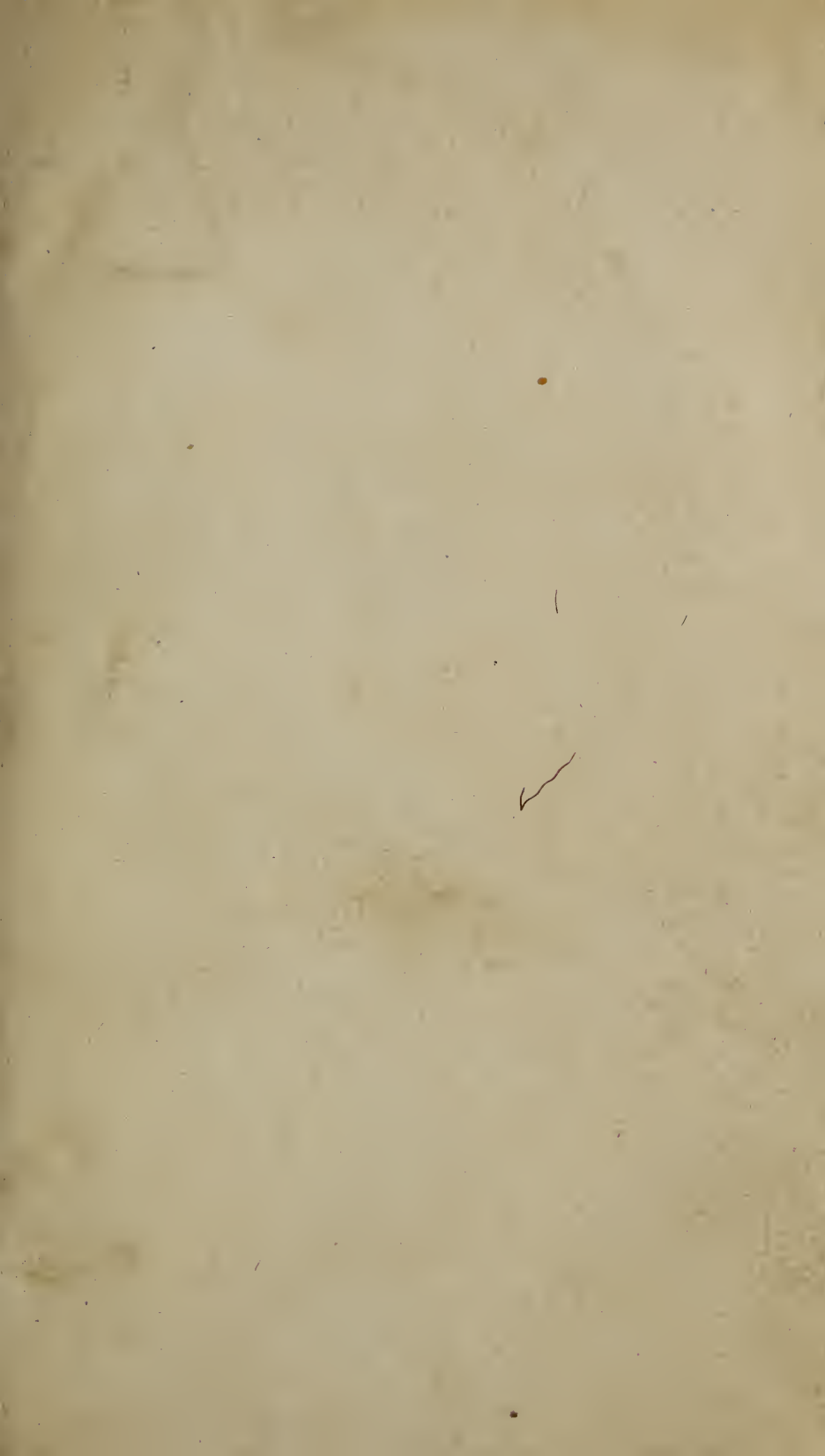


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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Two last Years of the Reign
of that unparallel'd PRINCE,
of ever Blessed Memory,

King CHARLES I.

BY

Sir THO. HERBERT, } Col EDW. COKE, and
Major HUNTINGTON, } Mr. HEN. FIREBRACE.

With the CHARACTER of that

Blessed MARTYR,

BY

The Reverend Mr. *John Disdati*, Mr. *Alexander*
Henderfon, and the Author of the *Princely-Pelican*.

To which is added,

The Death-Bed Repentance of Mr. LENTHAL,
Speaker of the Long-Parliament;

Extracted out of a Letter written from Oxford, Sept. 1662.

40 yr

L O N D O N,

Printed for Robert Clavel, at the Peacock, at the West-
End of S. Paul's. MDCCII.

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1702

ADVERTISEMENT

To the

READER

THAT have having been of late
years several Advertisements
printed and published relating
to the Life and Actions of the Royal
 Martyr, King CHARLES I.
ever blessed Adversary; it was thought
proper and necessary to give in publick
the Thomas Hartwell Carolina
Trinobolia, under the Title of his
Memoirs; these being contained
in the Book the only material Part
A 2

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Sages of the Two last Years of the Life of that excellent and unparallel'd Prince, which were carefully observ'd and related by the Author in a large Answer of a Letter wrote to him by Sir William Dugdale. In the same Book is printed Major Huntington's Relation made to Sir William of sundry Particulars relating to the King; as also Colonel Edw. Coke's, and Mr. Henry Firebrace's Narratives of several memorable Passages observ'd by them during their Attendance on Him at Newport in the Isle of Wight, Ann. 48. All these were copied from a Manuscript of the Right Reverend, the Bishop of Ely, lately deceased; and as I am credibly informed,

to the READER.

formed, a Copy of the several Originals is now to be seen amongst the Dugdale-Manuscripts in Oxford Library.

To these Memoirs are added Two or Three small Tracts, which give some Account of the Affairs of those Times; Of the Character of King CHARLES I. and of his just Claim and Title to his Divine Meditations. These having been printed An. 46. 48. 49. and very scarce and difficult to procure, were thought fit to be reprinted for publick Service.

As to the Letter, which gives an account of Mr. Lenthal's Carriage and Behaviour on his Death-Bed. It was twice printed An. 62. and the Truth of it attested by the Learned
Dr.

ADVERTISEMENT

Dr. Dickenson, now living in S. Martins Lane, who wrote the following Answer to his Friend, who desired Satisfaction about it.

SIR, I have carefully read over Mr. *Lenthal*, the Speaker of the Long Parliament's *Death-Bed Repentance*, and do assure the Truth of all that is there said. The Minister, who then prayed with him, confess'd him, and gave him Absolution, was Dr. *Bredock*, afterwards Bishop of *Chichester*. Besides, what I read in the Letter, I very well remember one very observable Passage, which I had from Mr. *Lenthal's* own Mouth

to the R E A D E R.

Mouth in his last Sickness ;
which was, That Gen. *Monk*
did assure King CHARLES II.
That had it not been for
Mr. *Lenthall's* secret Concur-
rence and Assistance, he could
not have brought about the
Restoration. This is what I
perfectly remember, tho' ma-
ny other Passages declaring his
Affection to the Church and
State pass'd from him in his
last Sickness. This, Sir, you
may be confident is the very
Truth, which can be owned
by me.

*This I thought fit to advertise
the Reader of, by way of Introdu-
tion,*

ADVERTISEMENT, &c.

tion, that he might be satisfied of the Genuineness of the respective Pieces, and thereby be encouraged to peruse them with Confidence and Assurance.

S I R

Sir THOMAS HERBERT'S
MEMOIRS, &c.

S I R,

BY Yours of the 22^d. of *August* last, 1679. I find you have received my former Letters of the First and Thirteenth of *May*, 1678. And seeing 'tis your further Desire I should recollect what I can well remember upon that sad Subject, more at large, I am willing to satisfy you therein, so far forth as my Memory will assist.

Some short Notes of Occurrences I then took, which, in this long Interval of time, and several Removes with my Family, are either lost or mislaid, so as at present I cannot find them; which renders this Narrative not so methodical, nor so large, as otherwise I should, and probably by you may be expected.

B

cted.

cted. Nor would I trouble you with what any other has written, but, in a summary Way, give you some Court-Passages, which I observed, during the last two Years of his late Majesty's Life and Reign, being the time of his Solitude and Sufferings. Neither will I retrospect to times of Hostility, which (as I imagine) ceased in or about the Month of *August*, —46. nor speak of the Grounds of that unhappy and destructive War, occasion'd either by a Contest for the Militia in this Kingdom, or from some Uproars in *Scotland*, arising (as pretended) by our introducing the Book of Common-Prayer, in Conformity to the Liturgy; which they retaliated by endeavouring to impose upon us their Discipline and Forms of a Presbytery.

These, with some other Apprehensions, made the first Difference betwixt the King and Parliament. But referring you to the Histories, which fully mention those things, you may there observe, that about the middle of *April*, 1646. the King being then at *Oxford*, had certain Intelligence that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was returned out of the Western Countries, and upon the 27th. of that Month arrived at *Nem-berry* with his Army, in order to his besieging the City of *Oxford*, which accordingly was, within Four days after, invested: So as his

Ma-

Majesty thought fit to leave that important Garison to the Care of Sir *Thomas Glemham*, the Governour, a Valiant and Expert Warriour, and in the Night-season, disguised and attended only by his Servant *Ashburnham* and Dr. *Hudson*, hastned to the *Leager* before *Newark*, which at that time was on the one side straitned by Major-General *Poyntz* who commanded there the Parliament Forces; and on the other by General *Leven* and the *Scots Army*, into whose hands his Majesty was pleased to intrust himself, having (it seems) a solemn Engagement from them to defend his Royal Person with their Lives and Fortunes; and not a little Rejoycing was express'd in their Camp at his Majesty's Reception. For at his Command the Tenth of *May*, the Garison was forthwith surrendred by the Lord *Bellasis*, the Governour; so as the *English* Forces were put into Possession of the Town and Castle, which was well provided for Defence; and the *Scots* having got the King into their hands, march'd with great Haste into the North, till they attained *Newcastle*, where they rested, making that place their head Quarters; which being known to Sir *Thomas Glemham*, he entred into a Treaty with Sir *Thomas Fairfax* about the Middle of *May*, and upon honourable Terms *Oxford* was yielded upon *Midsummer-Day*, which was the

24th. of *June* following. The Governour (at the Treaty proposing that he might have the liberty to know his Majesty's Pleasure, whether he should yield up the Garison or not) had the King's Approbation with the Lords of his Majesty's Privy-Council, then in *Oxford*, for his Surrender.

Mean time the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, disliking that the King should so long and so fruitlessly continue amongst the *Scots* within this Kingdom; the House of Commons upon the 17th. of *April*, ---46. published a Declaration for maintaining a right Understanding between the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, asserting thereby, that in as much as a safe and good Peace is the right End of a Just War, it was by them the more passionately desired; and to that End and Purpose they had framed several Propositions to be sent to the King (some of which were primarily transmitted from both Houses to their Brethren of *Scotland*, for their Consent, that those Proposals might in the Name of both Kingdoms be tendered to the King.) Which being agreed, the Lords and Commons about the middle of *July* following, sent their Desires (Entituled Propositions for a Safe and Well-Grounded Peace to be
pre-

presented his Majesty) by the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Suffolk*, Members of the House of Peers, with Four of the House of Commons, namely, Sir *Walter Earle*, and Sir *John Hipperly*, Knights, *Robert Goodwin* and *Luke Robinson*, Esquires; who being come to *Newcastle* (which they attain'd in few Days, the Summer-season favouring) the Day after their Arrival, they presented their Propositions to the King. Who having heard them read, and deliberated upon them, disapproved of them, in Regard they insisted upon Confirmation of the national League and Covenant, the abolishing of Episcopacy, investing the Subject with the Militia, exempting from Pardon several Lords and other considerable Persons, that, during the War, adhered to him; so as his Majesty would in no wise give his Royal Assent. Nevertheless was graciously pleased to give the Commissioners his Hand to kiss, and to dismiss them with a friendly Aspect. Who being return'd to *Westminster*, made their Report, and had the Thanks of both Houses for their Pains.

The Parliament soon after came to an Agreement with the *Scots*, to intrust the King with them; hoping that his drawing nearer *London* might conduce to a more speedy Composure of the present unhappy Differen-

ces between them : And likewise, that upon Payment of Two hundred thousand Pounds (Sterling) the *Scots* Army should depart this Kingdom, as upon the 15th. of *November*, —46. which was by the House of Commons publickly declared. The one Moiety of that Sum to be paid at *Newcastle*, upon their March back into *Scotland*; the other half within twelve Months after. Both which were punctually perform'd.

Things being thus prepared in order there-
to, the Parliament nominated and appointed the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Denbigh*, the Lord *Montague* of *Boughton*, and double their number of some Members of the House of Commons; namely, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *John Cooke*, Baronets, Sir *Walter Earle*, Knight, *John Crew*, Esquire, and Major-General *Browne*, with some private Gentlemen, viz. Sir *Fulk Grevil*, Knight, Mr. *James Harrington*, Mr. *Thomas Herbert*, Mr. *Anthony Mildman*, Mr. ——— *Ansty*, Mr. *Babington*, Mr. *Muschamp*, Mr. *Clement Kinerfly*, Mr. *Reading*, with some others, who accompanied those Lords and Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to attend his Majesty with his other Servants, if he should think fit to approve of them. Mr. *Stephen Marshal* and Mr. *Joseph Carrill* (two Ministers of the Assembly
of

of Divines) also went along as Chaplains to those Lords and Members of the House of Commons, Commissioners of Parliament.

The 12th. of *January*, 1646. those Noblemen and Gentlemen, (Members of both Houses,) with the other Gentlemen aforementioned, set forth from *London*, (the Lords in their Coaches,) and went the first Night to *Dunstable*, the second to *Norhampton*, the third to *Leicester*, the fourth to *Nottingham*, the fifth to *Doncaster*, the sixth to *Wetherby*, the seventh to *North-Allerton*, the eighth to *Durham*, the ninth to *Newcastle*; in all two hundred Miles, which with bad Ways and short Days made the Travel less pleasant.

The Commissioners, after a very short Repose, went to the House where the King then lodged in *Newcastle*; and being conducted to the Presence-Chamber. his Majesty, soon after his being acquainted with their Coming, came into the Presence, and with Affability received and gave them his Hand to kiss; and being by the Commissioners told the Occasion of their Repair thither to attend his Majesty, the King seemed very well pleased therewith, and said they were welcom, for he knew most of them, none of them were Strangers to him, and no less welcom was

their Business; well hoping, that his drawing nearer his Parliament would be a means to remove Jealousies and Distrusts, and establish a right Understanding betwixt him and his two Houses of Parliament.

The King both by his Alacrity and Cheerfulness of his Countenance, made it appear to all that were there (and the Presence-Chamber was then full thronged) that he was no less willing to part from the *Scots*, than they with him; and that his going South was very satisfactory to him: and after some mirthful Passages with the Earl of *Pembroke*, who (let others say what they will) loved the King in his Heart, and certainly had never separated from him, had he not (by the Procurement of some Ill-willers) been committed to the Tower, and his White Staff taken from him, only by reason of a sudden and unhappy falling out at a Committee in the Painted-Chamber, with his Kinsman the Lord *Mowbray*, Father to the Duke of *Norfolk*; and the Lord Chamberlain's Office confer'd upon the Earl of *Essex*, in which Place the Earl of *Pembroke* had served his Majesty many Years, with much Honour, Honesty, and Splendor. The King told him he was glad to see he could so well in his old Age, perform so long a winterly Journey
with

with the rest of the Commissioners who were youthful. He then advised them to go and refresh themselves, and attend him the next Morning. Which the Commissioners accordingly observed.

Next morning being come, the Commissioners attended his Majesty, and after Dinner humbly pray'd his Majesty to declare his Pleasure as to his Remove from *Newcastle*. The King then told them, he would not go thence till they had rested themselves some time, as was convenient; being that they were to enter upon a further Travel. After about four days longer Stay, they repeated their Desire, that his Majesty would be pleased to appoint both the Time and Place he would remove unto, that Orders might be given to make ready accordingly; both which he did, so that all things were speedily prepared by his Majesty's old Servants, for his Journey to his House at *Holdenby* in *Northamptonshire*, commonly call'd *Holmby*, a very stately House, built by the Lord Chancellor *Hatton*, as the last and greatest Monument of his Youth, as he express'd; and, in King *James's* Reign, purchased by *Q. Anne*, for her second Son the Duke of *York*, who, by the Death of Prince *Henry*, became Prince of *Wales*, and afterwards to the present Duke, second Son to King
Charles

Charles the First, of whom we are now speaking.

And as my Memory will serve, give me Leave to name the several Places his Majesty lodged at between *Newcastle* and *Holmby*, the Distance 'twixt those two being about eight Score Miles.

The first Night the King (being attended by his Commissioners) came to *Durham*, the second to *Richmond*, the third to *Rippon*, the fourth to *Leeds*, the fifth to *Rotheram*, the sixth to *Nottingham*, the seventh to *Leicester*, the eighth to *Holmby*; at some of which Towns he staid some few days.

And it is note-worthy, that through most parts where his Majesty passed, some out of Curiosity, but most (it may be presumed) for Love, flock'd to behold him, and accompanied him with Acclamations of Joy, and with their Prayers for his Preservation; and, that not any of the Troopers, who guarded the King, gave those Country-People any Check or Disturbance, as the King passed, that could be observ'd, (a Civility his Majesty was well pleased with.)

Being

Being arrived at *Holmby*, very many Country Gentlemen, Gentlewomen, and others of ordinary Rank, stood ready there, to welcome the King, with joyful Countenances and Prayers.

The House was prepared with all things requisite, by Mr. *Clement Kinerfly*, his Majesty's Servant in the Wardrobe; others also performing their Duties in their respective Offices and Places: so as the Court was accommodated with all things needful, both in Reference to the King, and likewise to the Commissioners, their Chaplains, Gentlemen, Attendants and others, and all within the King's House, without straitning; and all the Tables were as well furnish'd as they used to be when his Majesty was in a peaceful and flourishing State.

At Meal-times, the Commissioners never fail'd to wait upon the King with all due Observance, and there being none of his Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary to wait, whom by his Letter, dated the Sixth of *March*, he desired, but deny'd by both Houses, in regard they had not taken the Covenant, the two Divines, Mr. *Marshall* and Mr. *Carrill* (who came along with the Commissioners) were most times present, when his Majesty dined
and

and supped, and willing to crave a Blessing, but the King always said Grace himself, standing under the State, his Voice sometimes audible. His Majesty, nevertheless, was civil to those Ministers, seeming to have a good Esteem of them, in Reference to what he had heard, both as to their Learning and Conversation. Nor did he express a Dislike towards any of his Servants then attending him, as were free to repair to the Chappel, where those Ministers by turns preach'd Forenoon and Afternoon, every Lords-Day, before the Commissioners, and others of the Household; albeit, as some of them would say, they had rather have heard such as the King better approved of. The King every *Sunday* sequestred himself to his private Devotion, and all other days in the Week spent two or three hours in Reading and other pious Exercises; at other times, for Recreation, would after Meals play a Game at Chess, and, for health sake, walk oft in the Garden at *Holmby*, with one or other of the Commissioners; and in regard there was no Bowling-Green then well kept at *Holmby*, the King would sometimes ride to *Harrowden*, a House of the Lord *Vaux's* about nine Miles off, where there was a good Bowling-Green with Gardens, Groves and Walks, that afforded much Pleasure. And other whiles to
Althorpe,

Althorpe, a fair House about two or three Miles from *Holmby*, belonging to the Lord *Spencer*, now Earl of *Sunderland*, where also there was a Green well kept. The King in his going to *Harrowden* passed over a Bridge where Major *Bosvile*, disguised like a labouring Man, stood and gave his Majesty a Packet from the Queen. The King told the Commissioners, 'twas to obtain his Leave for the Prince to accompany *Monsieur* that Campaign, in the *French Army*; so as the disguised Person was excused.

In this interim, Jealousies increased, which begot Fears, against which there is no Fence. The Commissioners pursuant to their Instructions, one time addressed themselves all together unto the King, and acquainted him therewith, and humbly pray'd his Majesty to dismiss such of his Servants as were there, and had waited upon him at *Oxford*.

This Application of theirs, was in no wise well pleasing to the King (having had long Experience of the Loyalty and good Affection of those his Servants) as appear'd by his Countenance, and the Pause he made ere he gave the Commissioners any Answer. Howbeit after some Expostulation and Deliberation, he condescended to that they proposed, they

they not opposing the Continuance of Mr. *James Maxwell*, and Mr. *Patrick Maml*, their Attendance upon his Royal Person, as Grooms of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, in which Place, they had many years faithfully serv'd the King.

Next day his Majesty's Servants came, as at other times, into the Presence-Chamber; where, at Dinner-time, they waited: but after his Majesty arose from Dinner, and acquainted them, with what had passed 'twixt him and the Commissioners, they kissed his Majesty's hand, and with great Expressions of Grief for their Dismiss, poured forth their Prayers, for his Majesty's Freedom, and Preservation, and so departed. All that Afternoon the King withdrew into his Bed-Chamber, having given Orders, that none should interrupt him in his Privacy.

Soon after this, his Majesty purposing to send a Message to the Parliament, after Dinner he call'd the Earl of *Pembroke* to him, and told him he would have Mr. *Herbert* come into his Chamber, which the Earl acquainting the Commissioners with, Mr. *Herbert* was brought into the Bed-Chamber, by Mr. *Maxwell*, and, upon his Knee, desired to know his Majesty's Pleasure: who told him,

him, he would send a Message to the Parliament; and having none there that he usually imploy'd, and unwilling it should go under his own hand, called him in for that Purpose. Mr. *Herbert* having written as his Majesty did dictate, was by him enjoyn'd Secrefie, and not to communicate it to any, till made publick by both Houses, if by them held meet; which he carefully observed.

About a Week after, the King was pleas'd to tell the Commissioners, that seeing Mr. *James Levington*, Mr. *Henry Murrey*, Mr. *Ashburnham*, and Mr. *Leg*, were for the present dismissed, he had taken Notice of Mr. *Harrington*, and Mr. *Thomas Herbert*, who had followed the Court since his coming from *Newcastle*; and being well satisfied with the Report he had concerning them, as to their Sobriety, and good Education, he was willing to receive them as Grooms into his Bed-Chamber, to wait upon his Person with Mr. *Maxwell*, and Mr. *Mawl*; which the Commissioners approving, they were that night admitted, and by his Majesty instructed as to the Duty and Service he expected from them.

They thenceforth attended his Royal Person, and agreeable to that great Trust, with
due

due Observance and Loyalty, as became Servants ; and by Mr. *Maxwell* and Mr. *Maml* were affectionately treated. Mr. *Harrington* was a Gentleman well accomplish'd, had waited upon the Prince Elector *Palatine*, in his Chamber, had travell'd *Germany*, *Italy* and *France*, and spake their Languages. Mr. *Herbert* in like sort had travell'd through most part of the Greater *Asia*, as also several parts of *Africk* and *Europe*.

His Majesty, during his Stay at *Holmbly*, such times, as he did not ride abroad for Refreshment, would walk in the long Gravel-Walk in the Garden ; where the Earl of *Pembroke* was oft-times with the King, and, not without some Difficulty, held pace with him, his Majesty being quick and lively in his Motion. And other times with others of the Commissioners, but most with Major-General *Browne*, with whom the King was pleased to discourse often. And whensoever the King thus recreated himself, he never had above one in Company, the rest keeping at a becoming Distance, in some other part of the Privy-Garden. For indeed as the Commissioners always express'd a high Respect to the King, so the King was very affable to the Commissioners, all the time they attended his Majesty.

During

During his Majesty's being at *Holmby*, the Earl of *Pembroke* fell sick, by Cold he had taken, and for three weeks kept his Chamber, and turning to a Fever he kept his Bed; and was so ill, that Mr. *Bathurst* his Physician had for some days (in regard he was ancient) small hopes of his Life. The Lord *Herbert*, his Son, (having notice) hasten'd to him, according to his Duty, which was some Comfort to the Earl; and his Majesty sent Mr. *Herbert* every day to enquire of his Condition, and in Person was graciously pleased to visit him twice, which Kindness help'd (as the Doctor said) much to his Recovery.

It is well worth our Observation, That in all the time of his Majesty's Restraint and Solitude he was never sick, nor took any thing to prevent Sickness, or had need of a Physician: which (under God) is attributed to his quiet Disposition and unparallel'd Patience; to his Exercise, when at home walking in the Gallery and Privy-Garden, and other Recreations when abroad; to his Abstemiousness at Meat, eating but of few Dishes, and (as he used to say) agreeable to his Exercise, drinking but twice every Dinner and Supper, once of Beer, and once of Wine and Water mixt, only after Fish a Glass

C

of

French Wine, the Beverage he himself mix'd at the Cupboard, so he would have it ; he very seldom eat and drank before Dinner, nor between Meals.

His Majesty being one Afternoon at Bowls in the Green at *Althorpe*, it was whisper'd amongst the Commissioners, who were then at Bowls with the King, that a Party of Horse, obscurely headed, was marching towards *Holmby* ; and for no good it was presumed, in regard neither the Commissioners, nor Colonel *Graves*, who kept the Guard at *Holmby* and was an Officer in the Army, nor the Commissioners Servants had the least notice of it from any Officer or other Correspondent in the Army.

Whereupon the King, so soon as he was acquainted with it, immediately left the Green, and returned to *Holmby* ; where the Commissioners, after consultation with Col. *Graves*, resolved to stand upon their guard, and accordingly they forthwith doubled the Guards for Defence of his Majesty's Person ; and Major-General *Browne*, calling all the Soldiers together, acquainted them with the occasion, who promis'd to stand by him, and not to suffer any Attempt upon the King's Person, or Affront to the Commissioners : but the

the Difference is great 'twixt saying and doing, as soon appeared; for about Midnight came that Party of Horse, which in good order drew up before the House at *Holmby*, and at all Avenues placed Guards; which done, the Officer that commanded the Party alighted and demanded Entrance. Colonel *Graves* and Major-General *Browne* ask'd him his Name and Business? he reply'd his Name was *Foyce*, a Cornet in Colonel *Whaley's* Regiment, and his Business was to speak with the King. From whom? said they: From myself, said he: at which they laughed. It's no Laughing matter, said *Foyce*. They then advised him to draw off his Men, and in the morning he should speak with the Commissioners. I came not hither to be advised by you, said he, nor have I any Business with the Commissioners, my Errand is to the King, and speak with him I must and will presently. They then bid the Soldiers within stand to their Arms, and be ready to fire when order'd. But during this short Treaty 'twixt the Cornet and the Colonel, the Soldiers had Conference together, and so soon as they understood they were Fellow-Soldiers of one and the same Army, they quickly forgot what they had promised; for they open'd the Gates and Doors, shook one another by the hand, and bad them welcome. So little re-

gard had they to their Promise, either in reference to the King's Safety, or the Commissioners that attended him.

Entrance being thus given, strict Search was made after the Colonel, who (tho he was faultless, yet was it suggested he would have privately convey'd the King to *London*) got happily out of their reach. Centinels were order'd by *Joyce* to be set at the Commissioners Chamber-doors, that he might with less Noise carry on his Design, and find way to the Back-stairs, where the Grooms of his Majesty's Bed-chamber attended. The Cornet being come to the Door in rude manner knock'd; those within asking who it was that in such uncivil manner and so unseasonable a time came to disquiet the King's Rest? the Cornet replied, his name was *Joyce*, an Officer of the Army, sorry he should disquiet the King, but could not help it, for speak with him he would, and that presently.

This strange Confidence of his, and the Posture he was in (having a cockt Pistol in his hand) amazed these four Gentlemen, Mr. *Maxwell*, Mr. *Mawl*, Mr. *Harrington* and Mr. *Herbert*, whose Duty it was and Care to preserve his Majesty's Person, and were resolved to sacrifice their Lives rather than give him

him admittance; they in the first place ask'd *Foyce* if he had the Commissioners approbation for his Intrusion? he answer'd, No; for he had ordered a Guard to be set at their Chamber-doors, and that he had his Orders from those that feared them not. He still press'd for Entrance, and engaged his word to do the King no harm: they on the other side persuaded him to lay aside his Arms, and to forbear giving disturbance, the King being then asleep, assuring him, that the next morning he should have his Majesty's Answer to his Errand. The Cornet refused to part with either Sword or Pistol, and yet insisted to have the Chamber-door opened. But these Gentlemen keeping firm to their Resolution, that he should not enter, the Noise was so loud (which in this Contest could not be avoided) as it seems awaken'd his Majesty, for he rung his Silver Bell, at which Mr. *Maxwell* went into the Bed-chamber to know the King's Pleasure, the other three Gentlemen mean time securing the Door. The King, being acquainted with the Business and uncivil Carriage of the Cornet, sent word, he would not rise nor speak with him until morning: which being told the Cornet, he huff'd; but seeing his Design could not be effected in the night, he retired: so as for a few hours there was silence.

Morning being come, the King arose a little sooner than ordinary, and, having performed his Morning Exercise, he sent for *Joyce*, who with no less Confidence than if he had been a supreme Officer, approach'd the King, and acquainted him with the Commands he had concerning his Removal. The King desired the Commissioners might be sent for, and his Orders communicated to them. The Cornet reply'd, They were to return back unto the Parliament. By whose Appointment? said the King. As to that the Cornet had no Answer. The King then said, By your Favour, Sir; let them have their Liberty, and give me a sight of your Instructions. That (said *Joyce*) you shall see presently; and forthwith drawing up his Troop into the inner Court as near as he could unto the King, These, Sir, (said he) are my Instructions. The King took a good View of them, and finding them proper Men and well mounted and armed, smilingly told the Cornet, his Instructions were in fair Characters, legible without spelling. The Cornet then pressing the King to go along with him, no Prejudice being intended, but rather Satisfaction: the King told him, He would not stir, unless the Commissioners went along with him. The Cornet replied, for his part he was indifferent. However the
Com

Commissioners in this *interim* had, by an Express, acquainted the Parliament with this Violence; and so soon as they perceived his Majesty was inclinable to go with *Foyce*, and that it was the King's Pleasure they should follow him they knew not whither, they immediately made themselves ready. Nevertheless several Questions they ask'd the Cornet, whose Answers were insignificant. The Commissioners then seeing reason was of no Force to dissuade, nor Menaces to affright, they were willing to attend the King at all Adventures.

This audacious Attempt exceedingly troubled the Commissioners; and the more, for that they knew not how to help it, as well appear'd by their Countenances. And indeed it sadden'd the Hearts of many; the King was the merriest of the Company, having (it seems) a Confidence in the Army, especially from some of the greatest there, as it was imagined.

The King (then being in his Coach) call'd the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Denbigh*, as also the Lord *Mountague*, into it; the other Commissioners (Members of the House of Commons) being well mounted, follow'd; leaving *Holmby* languishing: for about two years after, that

beautiful and famous Structure was, amongst other his Majesty's Royal Houses, pull'd down, by order of the two Houses of Parliament, to satisfy the Soldiers Arrears: whereby the Splendor of the Kingdom was not a little eclipsed, as by their Ruins is now sadly manifested.

His Majesty following his Guide, the Confident Cornet, came that night to *Hinchingbrook*, heretofore a Nunnery, now a fair Mansion House of Colonel *Edward Mountague*, created Earl of *Sandwich* in the twelfth year of the Reign of King *Charles II*; which Colonel married *Femima* Daughter to Mr. *Crem*, who was created a Baron of *England* the year after. Here his Majesty was treated with Honour and hearty Welcome, as were also the Commissioners and the King's Servants. From *Hinchingbrook* the King went next night to *Childersly*, a House of Sir *John Cuts*, about four miles from *Cambridge*; where, during his Majesty's three days stay, many Masters, Fellows, Graduates and Scholars of that University repaired, to most of which the King was graciously pleased to give his Hand to Kiss, for which Honour they returned their humble and gratulatory Thanks, with a *Vivat Rex*.

Thither also came Sir *Thomas Fairfax* General of the Parliament Army, Lieutenant-General *Cromwel*, Commissary-General *Ireton*, Serjeant-Major-General *Skippon*, Lieutenant-General *Hammond*, Colonel *Lambert*, Colonel *Whaley*, Colonel *Rich*, Colonel *Dean*, and several other Field and Commission Officers of the Army, as also Mr. *Hugh Peters*, Mr. *Dell*, Mr. *Sedgwick*, and others; some of which, so soon as they came into the Presence, kiss'd his Majesty's Hand; the General Sir *Thomas Fairfax* in the first place, whom the King took aside; and for about half an hour discoursing with him, the Général (unask'd) disavowed his Majesty's Seizure by *Joyce* at *Holmby*, as done without his Order or Approbation (but probably by some other powerful Officer of the Army, seeing that the Cornet was neither at a Council of War, nor other where called to Question for it.)

His Majesty, being now in the Custody of the Army, was highly carefs'd by all the great Officers, who seldom failed to wait and discourse with him as Opportunity offer'd. But the King had most Conference with the General, the Lieutenant-General, and Commissary-General *Ireton* (who indeed had the greatest Influence in the Army) and then behaved them-

themselves with Civility and due Respect to his Royal Person, which made the King sometimes very pleasant in his Discourse with them; nor were the private Soldiers wanting, in their way, to oblige all that followed the King with Civility.

From *Childersley* the King removed to his House at *New-market*, which was fitted for his Reception, as well as that little Edifice would admit, and where for some weeks he continued; and thence by Messages, repeating to his two Houses of Parliament, his Desires of a further Treaty for Peace, that at *Uxbridge* concluding without any good Success.

Whilst the King was there, he would be often upon *New-market* Heath to recreate himself, sometimes in his Coach, but most part riding. That Heath, for good Air and Pleasure, gives place to no other in this great Island, insomuch that King *James* took exceeding Delight there in Hunting, Hawking, and Races, both Horse and Foot, and much frequented by former Princes.

The Army Officers, during his Majesty's Residence at *New-market*, were constantly attending. The Commissioners likewise continued their waiting on the King; who, in
this

this Condition appeared very chearful, having, as 'twas presumed, fair Hopes as well as Promises, that some of the Grandees of the Army would be instrumental, and, by their undoubted Interest with the two Houses and the Army, endeavour a happy Understanding and Accommodation between him and his Parliament, being in the mean time *sub Dei numine tutus*.

It may not be forgotten, that during his Majesty's Stay at *New-market*, very many of the Gentry and others, Men, Women, and Children, repaired thither, from most parts of *Cambridgeshire*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, and other neighbouring Counties, to see the King ; so that the Presence-Chamber was constantly thronged with People, especially when his Majesty was at Dinner or Supper, and he seldom or never failed to dine in publick ; and when the People saw his Majesty withdraw, their Prayers in loud Acclamations ever followed him. The King still observed his usual Hours for private Devotion ; and being acquainted that he was in few days to remove thence to *Hampton-Court*, he seemed much satisfied therewith, both that he might draw nearer his two Houses of Parliament, and for that the Restraint upon him was there to be taken off, and he to have the Exercise of Publick

Publick Worship as heretofore, by his Chaplains Attendance; and likewise that those his Servants, who were dismiss'd at *Holmby*, should have liberty to return and wait in their respective Places; willing nevertheless that the Earl of *Pembroke*, and the other Lords and Gentlemen, Members of the House of Commons, (their Commissioners) should abide with him, as also the other Gentlemen that had attended his Majesty, after his former Servants were discharged by the Commissioners.

The King, leaving *New-market*, took not the ready way to *Hampton Court*, his Progress being according to the motion of the Army; so that for the most part he lodged at Noblemens Houses, save that at *Royston* in his own little House, seldom used but when he hunted in those large open Fields, where King *James* took much Recreation; here his Majesty staid two days, tho the House was capable but of few Attendants, and meanly furnished; the Town nevertheless, being large, made amends, by that good Accommodation it afforded the Commissioners and the General Officers of the Army, as also his Majesty's Followers and Servants, which then were numerous.

Here

Here it was (if my Memory serve right) that a Gentleman who was Envoy from some *German* Prince (whose dead Father had been a Companion to the Knights of the most noble Order of the Garter) made an Address to his Majesty, with a Letter and Return of the *George and Garter*, which was richly set with Diamonds; and, according to the usual Custom, humbly pray'd to have his Majesty's Directions with whom they should be deposited. The Jewels formerly were sent to the Master of the King's Jewel-house, and the Robes deposited with the Dean of *Windsor*. A military Officer, being in the Room, was so malapert as to interpose, to the end that he might be privy to this affair, and hear what the Envoy had to communicate to the King, who by his Frown express'd his Displeasure for so great a Rudeness towards him, and Incivility to the Stranger; but Mr. *Babington*, the Kings Barber, standing by, and better understanding good Manners, instructed the Army Officer by removing him further off; with which the King was well pleased, and the Officer (no less than a Colonel) had a sound Reproof soon after from Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the General.

From

From *Royſton* the King removed, *June 26.* to *Hatfield* in *Hartfordſhire*, about thirteen miles North of *London*; a very noble Houſe belonging to the Lord *Cecil* Earl of *Salisbury*, having a Vineyard, Gardens and Walks full of Pleaſure, where his Maſteſty was treated with high Civility and Obſervance. Here the King ſtaid till the firſt of *July*; then removing to *Windsor*, and two days after to *Caversham*, a fair Houſe of the Lord *Craven's*, almoſt oppoſite to *Reading*, the River of *Thames* interpoſing; to which place repaired his Highneſs the *Prince Elector Palatine*, with ſeveral of the *Engliſh* Nobility, as alſo *Sir Thomas Fairfax*, and many Officers of the Army. On the *15th* of *July* the King went to *Maidenhead*; and on the *20th* to *Woburne*, heretofore a Religious Houſe for the *Ciſtercians* or *White Monks*, as we call them; now a large and fair Houſe of the Lord *Ruſſel* Earl of *Bedford*, where his Maſteſty was honourably and affectionately welcomed, the Commiſſioners and Attendants entertained with high Civility, as were alſo the Army Officers; the Earl of *Cleveland* with ſome other Noblemen were here, and ſome late Commander of the King's Army attending to kiſs his Maſteſty's Hand, had the freedom to wait and diſcourſe, which was novel, as times then ſtood, and an

Omen

Omen of future Harmony, as Well-wishers to Unity and Peace conjectured.

From *Woburne* his Majesty removed to *Latimers* in *Buckinghamshire*, a little but neat Mansion-house of the Lord *Cavendish* Earl of *Devonshire*, the Earl being then there to entertain the King. His Majesty leaving *Latimers*, 'twas thought he would have removed thence to *Berkhamstead*, a House once belonging to the King, now to the *Cary's*; but being unfurnished and unfitted to lodge at, others imagin'd he would go to *Ashridge* (not above two miles thence) where the Earl of *Bridgewater* hath a very noble House and Park: but the Headquarters being then at *St. Alban's*, his Majesty declined that Northern Progress, and rode by *Cheneys* and *Rickmansworth* to *Moore Park*, a Place of much Pleasure, (not above two miles from *Watford*) heretofore a Park and House of Retirement to that most Noble Lord *William Herbert* Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Steward of his Majesty's House, but since purchased by the Lord *Cary* Earl of *Monmouth*, with the curious Gardens, Water-works, &c. Where having dined, the King removed that night to *Stoke*, being about eight miles from *Moore Park*, a fair House built by *Henry* Lord *Hastings* Earl of *Huntingdon* and Lord President of the North; but since purchased by
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the Lord-Chief-Justice *Cook*, whose Daughter by the Lady *Eliz. Cecil* (the Earl of *Exeter's* Daughter and Widow to the Lord Chancellour *Hatton*) being married to Sir *John Villers* the Duke of *Buckingham's* Brother, it came to him, who in the year 1619. was created Baron of this Place and Viscount *Purbeck*. The fourteenth day of *August* the King removed from *Stoke* to *Oatlands*, a large and beautiful House of the Queen's upon the River of *Thames*; where, upon the Plaister'd Wall in the Stone-Gallery respecting the Gardens, were very curiously pourtray'd that Royal Edifice (with *Pontefract Castle*, *Havering*, *Eltham*, *Nonfuch*, and some other Palaces assigned to her Majesty) in like manner as you see at *Fountainbleau*, of several stately Houses of the *French King's*. But alas! this at *Oatlands*, with *Richmond*, *Theobalds*, *Holmby*, and other magnificent Houses in this Kingdom were unhappily soon after pull'd down, to raise Money to satisfy the Arrears of some Regiments of the Army: all which, 'tis believed, did not raise half so much as any of those Princely Houses cost when they were built; such are the miserable Effects of Civil War. During this Progress eleven Eminent Members of the House of Commons (desirous of Peace) were accused of Treason by the Army; moving that in the interim they might be expelled
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the House, and accordingly were secluded for six months, insomuch that some of them, leaving this Kingdom, died beyond Sea.

About the middle of *August* the King removed to *Hampton Court*, a most large and Imperial House, built by that Poinpous Prelate Cardinal *Wolsey*, in ostentation of his great Wealth, and enlarged by King *Henry* the Eighth, so as it became a Royal Palace; which, for Beauty and Grandeur, is exceeded by no Structure in *Europe*; unless it be the *Escorial* in *Spain*, which appears so magnificent by having the Addition of a fair Monastery dedicated to *St. Lawrence*, wherein live a hundred and fifty Monks of the Order of *St. Jerom*, and hath also a College, Schools, and Out-houses built by King *Philip II.* who married our Queen *Mary*.

Hampton Court was then made ready for the Court, and by Mr. *Kinersty*, Yeoman of the Wardrobe, and others, prepared with what was needful for the Court. And a Court it now appeared to be: for there was a Revival of what Lustre it had formerly, his Majesty then having the Nobility about him, his Chaplains to perform their Duty, the House amply furnished, and his Services in
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the accustomed Form and State ; every one of his Servants permitted to attend in their respective Places ; nothing then appeared of Discrimination ; Intercourse was free between King and Parliament, and the Army seem'd to endeavour a right Understanding amongst different Parties : Also some Treaties pass'd upon Proposals presented his Majesty from the Parliament, which gave hopes of an Accommodation : The Commissioners also continued their Attendance about the King, and those Gentlemen that waited at *Holmby*, were, by his Majesty's Appointment, kept in their Offices and Places ; the General likewise, and other Military Commanders, were much at Court, and had frequent Conference with the King in the Park, and other where attending him ; no Offence at any time pass'd amongst the Soldiers of either Party ; there was an Amnesty by consent, pleasing, as was thought, to all Parties.

His Majesty, during these Halcyon Days, intimated to the Earl of *Northumberland*, that he desired to see his Children, who, at that time, were under the Government of that Nobleman, and then in his House at *Sion*, which is about Seven Miles from *Hampton-Court*, in the way to *London*. The Relater, amongst other the King's Servants, followed his Majesty

jesty to *Sion*, which is denominated from the Holy Mount, so named, near *Hierusalem*. This was first a Monastery for Monks, but they being by King *Henry V.* removed, in their rooms he placed Nuns of *S. Bridget's* Order, and under the same Roof (but separated by several Walls) put so many Priests and Friars as were in Number equal to Christ with his Apostles and Disciples. All which Votaries were ejected by King *Henry VIII.* the Church pulled down, and a fair House raised for a retiring Place of the Lord *Seymour*, Duke of *Somerset* (as was his other great Mansion-House in the *Strand*) but at present belonging to the Lord *Piercy*, Earl of *Northumberland*. Here the King met the young Duke of *Gloucester*, and Princess *Elizabeth*, who, so soon as they saw their Royal Father, upon their Knees they begg'd his Blessing, who heartily gave it, and was overjoy'd to see them so well in Health, and so honourably regarded.

The Earl welcom'd the King with a very noble Treat, and his Followers had their Tables richly furnished, by his Behaviour expressing extraordinary Contentment, to see the King and his Children together, after such various Chances, and so long a Separation. Night drawing on, his Majesty return'd to *Hampton-Court*.

The fairest Day is seldom without a Cloud ; for at this time some active and malevolent Persons of the Army, disguis'd under the specious Name of Agitators, being Two selected out of every Regiment, to meet and debate the Concerns of the Army, met frequently at *Putney*, and places thereabouts ; who of their own accord, without either Authority, (as some averr) or Countenance of the General, upon fair Pretences had frequent Consultations ; but intermeddling with Affairs of State, were not unlike those that love to fish in troubled Waters, and being Men very popular in the Army, had thence their Impulse and Approbation. What the Result of Councils amongst them was, who knows, or by what Spirits agitated ? Yet about this time the House was rent, and the Speaker went unto the Army, which soon after marched through *London* to the Tower, to which was committed the Lord Mayor, and other dissenting Citizens, in which Confusion the King proposing a Treaty, the Agitators, in opposition, published a Book, intituled, *An Agreement of the People, which concerned his Majesty's Person and Safety*. But thence (as was well known) several things in design were rumour'd, which fomented Parties, and created Jealousies and Fears, and by some Artifice insinuated, and a
Repre-

Representation by Letter gave his Majesty an occasion of going from *Hampton-Court* in the Night, and in Disguise, with Two Grooms of his Majesty's Bed Chamber, Mr. *Ashburnham* and Mr. *Leg*, as also Sir *John Berkley*; and about the middle of *November, An. 1647.* past through a private Door into the Park, where no Centinel was, and at *Thames-Ditton* cross'd the River, to the Amazement of the Commissioners, who had not the least fore-Knowledge or Apprehension of the King's Fear or Intentions, and no less to the Astonishment of the Lords, and other his Majesty's Servants, the Commissioners especially, who in this Ignorance expressed great Trouble of Mind, until the Lord *Mountague* open'd a Letter his Majesty left upon his Table, directed to him, giving a hint of what induc'd him to hasten thence in such a manner, being for Self-preservation, yet kindly acknowledging their Civility to his Person all along, with his good Acceptance of their Loyalty and Service.

His Majesty being thus gone from *Hampton-Court*, the King's Servants went with sad Hearts to their several Homes, and the Earls of *Pembroke* and *Denbigh*, the Lord *Mountague*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *James Harrington*, Sir *John Cooke*, with the rest of the Commis-

sioners, having acquainted the Parliament with the King's Departure and the Letter he was pleas'd to leave behind him, they immediately receiv'd an Invitation from both Houses to return to *Westminster*, which accordingly they observed, and for their long and faithful Service had Thanks from the Parliament.

After few days it was known that the King was gone to *Tichfield*, a fair House of the Earl of *Southampton*, and that upon the 13th of *November* 1647. he had cross'd the Sea, and was safe landed at *Cowes* in the Isle of *Wight*, where Colonel *Hammond*, the Governour, was attending, and passing through *Newport* (the principal Town in that Island) the Governour, with Alacrity and Confidence, conducted his Majesty to *Carisbrook* Castle, attended only by Sir *John Berkeley*, and those Two Gentlemen, his Servants, lately mention'd. Sure I am, many that cordially lov'd the King, did very much dislike his going to this Place, it being so remote, and designed neither for his Honour nor Safety ; as the Consequence prov'd. A Gentlewoman, as his Majesty pass'd through *Newport*, presented him with a Damask-Rose which grew in her Garden at that cold Season of the Year, and prayed for him, which his Majesty heartily thank'd her for.

Caris-

Carisbrook Castle is the only place of Defence within that Island, albeit, upon the Marine, the Isle hath many Forts, or Block-Houses. Its Name is derived from *Whitgare*, a Saxon, corruptly contracted to *Garisbrook*. The Isle being subdu'd at the Conquest by *William Fitz Osborne*, Earl of *Hereford*, he built this Castle, which in King *Henry III.* his Time was enlarged by *Isabel de Fortibus*, Sister and Heir to *Baldwyn*, Earl of *Devon* and *Albemarle*, who founded there a Priory, dedicated to *S. Mary Magdalen*, for Benedictines or Black Monks, as we call them. The Castle was new built (or enlarged rather) by Order of King *Henry VIII.* and by Queen *Elizabeth* regularly fortified ; so as the Out-Works are large, and planted with great Ordnance, and has serv'd as a place of retreat for the Islanders against the *French* and *Spaniard*, when the *English* were in War with them.

Thither (so soon as the King's being there was rumour'd) repair'd several of his old Servants, and some new, such as his Majesty at that time thought fit to nominate (for some Weeks there was no Prohibition, any that were desirous to see his Majesty might without Opposal) or that, according to the Duty of their Place, were to give their Attendance. His

Majesty had free liberty to ride and recreate himself any where within the Isle, when and where he pleased; the only Want was, that his Chaplains, Dr.*Sheldon* and Dr.*Hammond*, were not long tolerated to perform their Office, which was no little Grief to him, in regard he had no Disposition to hear those that exercised according to the Directory which was then practised; but hinder'd not his private Devotion, which every day he carefully attended, and the Lord's Day he observ'd, by reading the Bible, and other Books fitting him for Prayer and Meditation in his Oratory.

Howbeit, this Liberty of Refreshing in the Isle abroad was of no long duration; for about the middle of *February*, Colonel *Hammond*, the Governour (soon after the King arose from Dinner) came into the Presence, which was under his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, and in solemn manner address'd himself to the King; and after a short Preamble, said, He was sorry to acquaint his Majesty with the Orders he receiv'd the Night before from his Superiours, and then pausing a while, the King bid him speak out. The Governour reply'd, His Orders were to forbid Mr. *Ashburnham*, Mr. *Leg*, and the rest of his Servants that were with him at *Oxford*, any further waiting on his Person in that Castle and Garrison,

Garrison, the Jealousies and Apprehensions of those Times judging it inconvenient to continue such in their Attendance about his Person.

The King, by his short Silence, seem'd surprized, and, by his Countenance, appear'd to be troubled. Such as were at that time in the Presence noted it; but not knowing the occasion of his Majesty's Sadness, they seem'd full of Grief, as by their dejected Looks was visible. But the King beckoning with his Hand to Mr. *Asburnham* and some others, he told them what the Governour had communicated, and what he expected not, nor was agreeable to what some considerable Persons had promis'd. But no Remedy but Patience, which in these Straits he commonly had recourse unto, and is the noble way of overcoming.

His Majesty's Servants were much perplext, and to expostulate with Colonel *Hammond*, knew it would be to no purpose; the only Comfort remaining was, That they were not excluded their Royal Master's Affection, which supported them. Next day, after the King had dined, those Gentlemen came all together, and prostrating themselves at his Majesty's Feet, pray'd God for his Preservation, and, kissing his Hand, departed.

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This done, the Day following a Restraint began of the King's going any more abroad into the *Isle of Wight*, his Majesty being then confined to *Carisbrook-Castle* and Line without, albeit within the Works, a Place sufficiently large and convenient for the King's walking and having good Air, and a delightful Prospect both to the Sea and Land: and for his Majesty's Solace and Recreation, the Governor converted the *Barbacan*, (a spacious parading Ground within the Line, tho without the Castle) into a Bowling-green, scarce to be equalled, and at one side built a pretty Summer-House, for Retirement. At vacant hours these afforded the King most Recreation, for the Building within the Castle-Walls had no Gallery, nor Rooms of State, nor Garden, so as his Majesty, constantly in the Forenoons, exercised himself in the Walks without, and in the Afternoons there also, and in the Bowling-green or *Barbacan*. Nevertheless both times he carefully observed his usual Times set apart for his Devotion and for Writing. Mr. *Harrington* and Mr. *Herbert* continued waiting on his Majesty in the Bed-chamber: he gave Mr. *Herbert* the charge of his Books, of which the King had a Catalogue, and from time to time had brought unto him, such as he was pleased to call for.

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The sacred Scripture was the Book he most delighted in, read often in Bp. *Andrews* Sermons, *Hooker's Ecclesiastical Policy*, Dr. *Hammond's* Works, *Villalpandus* upon *Ezekiel*, &c. *Sands's* Paraphrase upon King *David's* Psalms, *Herbert's* divine Poems; and also *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, writ in *Italian* by *Torquato Tasso*, and done in to *English* Heroick Verse by Mr. *Fairfax*, a Poem his Majesty much commended, as he did also *Ariosto* by Sir *John Harrington*, a facetious Poet, much esteemed of by Prince *Henry* his Master; *Spencer's* Fairy Queen and the like, for alleviating his Spirits after serious Studies. And at this time it was (as is presumed) he composed his Book called *Suspiria Regalia*, publish'd soon after his Death, and entitled *The King's Pourtraiture in his Solitudes and Sufferings*, which Manuscript Mr. *Herbert* found amongst those Books his Majesty was pleased to give him (those excepted which he bequeathed to his Children, hereafter mentioned) in regard Mr *Herbert*, tho he did not see the King write that Book, his Majesty being always private when he writ, and those his Servants never coming into the Bed-chamber, when the King was private, until he called; yet comparing it with his Hand-writing in other things, found it so very like, as induces his Belief that it was his own Hand-writing, having seen much of the King's Wri-
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ting before ; and to instance Particulars, in that his Majesty's Translation of Dr. *Saunderson*, the late Bishop of *Lincoln's* Book *de Juramentis*, or like Title, concerning Oaths, all of it translated into *English*, and writ with his own Hand ; and which, in his Bed-chamber, he was pleased to show his Servants Mr. *Harrington* and Mr. *Herbert*, and commanding them to examine it with the Original, they found it accurately translated ; which his Majesty not long after shewed the Bp. of *London* Dr. *Juxon*, and also Dr. *Hammond*, and Dr. *Sheldon*, his Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary (which first and last were afterwards Archbishops of *Canterbury*) such time as they waited upon him at *Newport* in the *Isle of Wight*, during the Treaty. In many of his Books he delighted himself with the Motto *Dum Spiro Spero* ; which he wrote frequently as the Emblem of his Hopes as well as Endeavours for a happy Agreement with his Parliament. A Harmony and good Accommodation he heartily desired, and a fair End to all Matters that made this unhappy Separation : mean time alleviating his Mind by an honourable and chearful Submission to the Almighty, who in his Wisdom orders and disposes all things according to his good Pleasure, and who, in all his Tryals during his disconsolate Condition, marvellously supported him with an unparallel'd

parallell'd Patience. In one of his Books he writ this Distich;

*Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere vitam:
Fortiter ille facit qui miser esse potest.*

And out of another Poet, against the Leveling and Anti-monarchick Spirits which predominated at that time;

*Fallitur egregio quisquis sub Principe credit
Servitium; nunquam Libertas gratior extat,
Quam sub Rege pio.—— Claudian.*

With many others which are memorable, and express his Delight in Learning. For he understood Authors in the Originals, whether Greek, Latin, French, Spanish, or Italian, which three last he spoke perfectly; and none better read in Histories of all sorts, which render'd him accomplished, and also would discourse well in Arts and Sciences, and indeed not unfitted for any Subject.

Notwithstanding this Restraint, which the Governour was strict in (probably in pursuance of his Instructions) nevertheless several Diseased Persons, troubled with the Evil, resorted thither from remote parts to be touch'd; and, after some Stay in *Newport* or other

other Villages about, made means to get within the Line, and when the King went out of the Castle, towards his usual Walk about the *Barbacan*, they had their wish'd Opportunity to present themselves afore him, and he touch'd them.

About this time one Mr. *Sedgwick* (some time Preacher in the Parliament Army) came to *Carisbrook-Castle*, and desired Col. *Hammond* the Governour's Leave to address himself to the King. Mr. *Harrington* being acquainted with the Occasion, told his Majesty, That a Minister was purposely come from *London*, to discourse with him about his spiritual Concerns, and was desirous to present his Majesty with a Book he had lately writ for his Majesty's perusal, which (as the Gentleman said) if his Majesty would please to read, he suppos'd might be of much Advantage to him, and Comfort in that his uncomfortable Condition. The King thereupon came forth, and Mr. *Sedgwick*, in decent manner, gave his Majesty the Book, the Title whereof was, *Leaves of the Tree of Life*, being an Explication of the second Verse of the 22. Chapter of the Revelation of St. *John*. His Majesty, after he had read some part thereof, returned it him with this short Admonition and Judgment, That, by what he had read in that Book, he believed the Composer stood in
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some need of Sleep. The King's Advice being taken in the best Sense, the Minister departed with seeming Satisfaction.

Next day one Mr. *Harrington*, a Gentleman of a fair Estate near *Bath* in *Somersetshire* (Son to Sir *John Harrington*, aforementioned) came in like sort to *Carisbrook-Castle*, upon the same charitable account. But his Majesty, having heard something concerning him, thank'd him likewise for his good Intentions, having no mind to enter into Discourse with him upon Controversial Points; so as that Gentleman also returned next homewards, having first wish'd the King much Happiness.

His Majesty having thought fit to send a Gracious Message to his two Houses of Parliament, in the Evening he gave it, sealed up, (and directed to the Speaker of the House of Lords *pro tempore*) to his Servant Mr *Herbert*, with a Letter to his Daughter the Princess *Elizabeth*, who was then at *St. James's-House* near *Whitehal* with her Governess. The Wind was not favourable, so as Mr. *Herbert* had much ado to cross the Sea from *Comes* to *Southampton*; but in regard the King had ordered to make haste, so as the Letter might be delivered next day before the House rose,
no

no Delay was suffered. Being landed he immediately took Post for *London*. It may not be forgotten, that at one Stage, the Post-Master (a malevolent Person) having notice that the *Pacquet* came from the King, and requir'd extraordinary Speed; mounted Mr. *Herbert* upon a Horse that had neither good Eyes nor Feet, so as he usually stumbled very much, which, with the deep Ways (being Winter) and dark Night, in all probability might have abated his Speed, but (through God's Goodness) the Horse (tho at his full Gallop most part of that Twelve Miles riding) neither stumbled, nor fell, which at the next Stage was admired. The King's Packet was deliver'd to the Lord *Grey* of *Warke*, (at that time Speaker to the Lords House) within the time limited; which done, he waited upon the Princess *Elizabeth*, then at *S. James's*, who gave him her Hand to kiss, being overjoy'd with her Royal Father's kind Letter; to which she returned another by Mr. *Herbert*, who had the King's Approbation at his coming to *Carisbrook*, for his Diligence.

It was upon the 15th of *April*, the Princess *Henrietta* (Wife to the Duke of *Orleans* afterwards) left *Exeter* (the Place of her Birth) and took Ship for *France* to the Queen; and upon the 15th of *April*, Two Years after
that,

that, the Duke of *York* escaped from *St James's*, and went to the Prince, then in *Holland*.

Whilst these things were acting, the *Scots*, to regain their Credit for delivering the King into the Hands of the *English* (contrary to their Promise when he left *Oxford*, and intrusted himself with them, when they besieged *Newark*, as formerly hinted) upon a pretence to reinthroned the King. In or about *May 1648*. a Committee of Danger (as they term'd it) was by an Assembly of the States, in order thereto, constituted at *Edinburgh*, consisting of Eight Earls, Eight Barons, and Eight Burgesies, who being assembled, voted the raising an Army of 40000 Men, to be commanded by Duke *Hamilton*, with whom Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and some other Colonels, gave the Duke an assurance to assist with 3000 Horse and Foot. All Expedition was used to raise this Army, that they might make their Invasion with least Opposition; having notice also from *London* and other Parts, that upon the Votes of making no further Address, or receiving any Message from the King, and that a closer Restraint was by Colonel *Hammond* thereupon put upon his Majesty at *Carisbrook Castle*, great Discontents and Murmurs arose amongst the People, in sundry Parts of the

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Nation, that broke out into Insurrections; which, and with the Intelligence Duke *Hamilton* had, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was engaged by the King's Party, in *Kent, Surrey*, and other Counties about *London*, and that Lieutenant-General *Cromwel* at the same time was busied about the Reducement of *Pembroke-Castle*, and other fortified places in the remotest Parts of *South-Wales*, animated the *Scots* the more to quicken their March into *England*, notwithstanding, the number of their Forces were with such Difficulty raised, as they lost their Opportunity, as being unable to raise above One Third of the Number they intended; nor did they enter *England* until the 13th of *July* 1648.

A little before this, the *Londoners*, in great Multitudes, petitioned both Houses of Parliament, That the seclused Members might be recalled, and those other released, who were then under restraint, and be permitted to sit, as formerly; part of their Request was granted, upon their willingness to let Major-General *Skippon* command the City-Militia; which being granted, several Regiments were quartered in *London*, as also in *Somerſet-House* in the *Strand*, the *Mews*, and *White-Hall*, the rest of the Army having Quarters assign'd more remote from *London*. The *Essex* and
Surrey-

Surrey-Men likewise petitioned the Two Houses, That the Army might be satisfi'd their Ar-rears, and then disbanded, and that the late Vote for making no further Address to the King, might be null'd, and that they would comply with his Majesty's Proposal for a personal Treaty.

That word, *Disbanding*, sounded harshly in the Souldiers Ears, insomuch as some of them affronted the Petitioners, so that from Words they fell to Blows, which was taken in ill part by many; but especially by such of their *Kentish* Neighbours, as inclined to the Regal Party, who resenting the bad Usage the *Surrey* Petitioners had received, made that and the King's Restraint the Pretence of their sudden rising in Arms, insomuch as upwards of 10000 Men, headed by Mr. *Hales*, and some other Persons of Note living there, publicly declar'd for King and Parliament.

This was soon known to that part of Sir *Tho. Fairfax's* Army that quarter'd there about; for Col. *Rich*, with his Horse Regiment, and Col. *Henson*, with his of Foot, fell upon a Party near *Gravesend*, so as in disorder they made to-wards *Maidstone*, which place they fortifi'd as well as few Hands and little Time gave leave, tho' to small purpose, those Regiments march-

ing after them with speed ; nevertheless the Dispute was very sharp, the *Kentish* Men stood so well to their Arms, and made such Opposition, so that the Fight was for some hours maintain'd with great Resolution on both sides, and many were kill'd in the Conflict ; howbeit, in conclusion, the Parliament Soldiers had the better of the Day, and took many Prisoners, the rest that escaped marched towards the *Thames*, and with others rendezvouz'd upon *Black-Heath*, where several Officers and Soldiers that had serv'd in the King's Army repair'd to them, which so increas'd their Number, as induc'd the Lord *Goring*, E. of *Normich* to command that little Army, who having Intelligence that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was with several Regiments of Horse and Foot advancing against him, he thought fit to decline the Engagement till he had a Reinforcement, and in order thereto, he cross'd the *Thames* near *Greenwich* into *Essex*, where Sir *Charles Lucas* joyn'd him with 2000 Horse and Foot ; amongst which were many principal Commanders, namely, the Lord *Capell*, the Lord *Loughborough*, and other Officers of Note; and being near 4000 Men, they marched to *Colchester*, where expecting a Siege in short space, with the Help of many Hands, they regularly fortifi'd it.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* had quick Intelligence of their Proceedings, so as he order'd Colonel *Hewson* and Colonel *Rich* with their Regiments to quiet the *Kentish* Commotion, and with the rest of the Army he drew towards *Colchester*, which he closely besieged, about the middle of *June* --48.

At this time was Lieutenant General *Cromwell* hurried about the Reducement of the strong Castle of *Pembroke* (the utmost part of *South-Wales*) which was defended by Major-General *Langhorn*, Colonel *Powell*, and Colonel *Poyer*, Men of signal Courage and Interest in those Parts.

The *Scots* also, under *D. Hamilton's* Command, about this time (which was the First Week in *July* --48.) entered this Kingdom near to *Carlisle* (Sir *Philip Musgrave* Governour) Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, with his Brigade, joyning with them. Much about this time also a great part of the Navy, by procurement of Vice-Adm. *Batten* (in whose place the Two Houses of Parliament had put Col. *Ranesbrough*) declared for the King, and put themselves under the Command of the Prince of *Wales*, the Duke of *Tork* going aboard, having in a Disguise left *S. James's*, and the Earl of

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Northumberland, his Governour, and with One Servant escaped, and got into *Holland* (there being also aboard Prince *Rupert*, and sundry other Noblemen and Gentlemen of Quality, with 2000 Soldiers, who being under sail quickly) the Wind favouring, landed at *Tarmouth*, in expectation of increasing their Numbers in *Norfolk*, and the neighbouring Counties, who had, during the late War, appeared for the King; but failing to come to his Assistance, and hearing that Colonel *Scroop* was with a considerable Force upon a speedy March thitherward, the Prince by Advice of a Council of War, was perswaded to ship his Men, and to direct his Course toward *Sandwich* or *Deal*, in *Kent*, to countenance those that had declar'd for the King; but his coming was too late, the Parliament Forces there having worsted the King's Party. So as the Prince finding the Opportunity lost, and his Fleet in want of Provisions, weighing Anchor, he returned into the *Netherlands*.

Nevertheless, about the beginning of *July*, the Earl of *Holland*, seconded by the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Francis Villiers*, his Brother, the Earl of *Peterborough*, and several others of Note, made a Second Attempt in *Kent*, upon his Majesty's Behalf, appearing with a considerable Party of Horse and Foot,
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and marching in good Order into *Surrey*, drew up near *Kingston* upon *Thames*, in hopes that several Officers and private Soldiers, who had served the King, would have come into their Rendezvouze; but few appearing to reinforce them, they marched towards *Rygate*, about a Dozen Miles from *Kingston*, which, e'er they could reach, they were engaged by Colonel *Rich* his Regiment of Horse, and after a sharp Skirmish, forc'd to retreat back towards *Kingston*, and endeavouring to make good a Pass between *Emel* and *Nonfuch-Park*, the Fight was on either side maintained with extraordinary Fierceness and Valour, in which there were many Gentlemen slain on both sides, amongst which was the Lord *Francis Villiers*, who that day expressed much Courage, and as report goes, was offer'd, but refus'd Quarter.

The King's Party being thus overcome, such as were not Prisoners of War (of which were several of the better sort) the rest shifted for themselves the best they could. Nevertheless, the Earl of *Holland*, with a small Party, got to *Kingston* upon *Thames*, which place, tho favouring the King's Friends, and so near neighbouring *Hampton-Court*, durst not, in that condition, warrant the Earl's stay, the Parliament Forces being in pursuit; so as

leaving that place, he hastened towards *Huntington*, thinking to find Security there, at least for some time; but by the way, Colonel *Scroop* interposing with Two Regiments of Horse and Foot from *Norfolk*, the Earl, after some resistance near *S. Neots*, 7 Miles from *Huntington*, was taken Prisoner, and thence, under a Guard of Horse, sent to *Warwick-Castle*, where he remain'd till he was brought to *London*. The D. of *Buckingham*, in this interim, pass'd through the County of *Lincoln*, to the Sea-Coast, where happily finding a small Vessel, he adventur'd the Sea, and having a favourable Gale of Wind, in few Hours arrived safely in *Holland*, where he found the Prince.

Whilst these things were in agitation, Duke *Hamilton*, upon the 13th of *July* (as hath been hinted) invaded *England* with his *Scots*, who were far short of the Number the Committee of Danger voted at *Edinburgh*, as formerly mentioned; but was supply'd by the Splendour of his own Equipage, his Army (as some report) was not 15000 Horse and Foot; yet, by that Addition from Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, and which Sir *Philip Musgrave*, and other *English* Officers brought, he was 20000 Men, or thereabouts. The *Scots* Army march'd as far as *Appleby*, in *Westmoreland*,

land, without Opposition, where Major-General *Lambert* was quarter'd ; near which, after a short Dispute, the *Scots* made the *English* Party to retire, first to *Kirkby Steven*, and then to *Bowes*, so as the *Scots* (to refresh themselves) stay'd a few Days in *Kendal*, expecting more Force out of *Scotland*, which fail'd them.

Nevertheless, with the Army he had, and animated with his late Success, he marched into *Lancashire*, thinking there to be reinforced by many, that, during the late War, had appeared opposite to the Parliament Forces ; but the Report of Lieutenant-General *Cromwell's* Approach, disanimating several Persons of Note in those Parts ; so that Duke *Hamilton* failed much of his Expectations. The Sequestration of Mens Estates was so great a Terror to many ; nor did Major-General *Monroe*, with his Forces, follow the Duke, as was intended, he and the Marquess of *Montrose* having enough to do at home, by opposing the Marquess of *Argile*, who, with General *Lesly*, were against Duke *Hamilton's* invading *England*.

Nor was the Rumor of Lieutenant-General *Cromwell's* March towards the *Scots* false ; for so soon as he had Intelligence of the Duke's

Duke's coming to *Perith*, he quickly dispatch'd his Leager at *Pembroke*, which was surrendered; and, as with a flying Army, made all haste possible to joyn with Major-General *Lambert* and Col. *Harrison* to fight the *Scots*. The Duke therefore thought it his best Course to adventure a speedy Engagement: In order whereto he marched to *Preston*, in *Lancashire*, and upon the 17th day of *August* (having notice by his Scouts that the Parliament Forces observ'd his Motion, and were drawing up towards him) he drew up in Battalia, upon a Moor about Three Miles from *Preston*, where both Armies faced each other; Major *Smithson* commanded the Forlorn, and worsted a part of the Van of the *Scots* Army, so as the Armies immediately engaged: For two Hours space the Fight was equally maintain'd, and fought with marvellous Fierceness and desperate Courage, so as many were slain; but at length the *Scots* gave ground, and the greatest part of their Army marched back towards *Lancaster*, the lesser part towards *Preston*. The Parliament Forces marched close after the *Scots*, who, at *Ribble* Bridge (which is not far from *Haughton-Tower*) made a stand, as resolving to make good that Passage, which accordingly they for some Hours maintain'd with great Courage, but being overpower'd by the *English* Cavalry, who press'd
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upon the *Scots* with great Resolution, and gain'd the Pass, the Duke (contrary to common Sense) declin'd his Retreat Northwards, towards *Lancaster*, whither the other part of his Army was gone, and marched Southwards, to *Wigan* (a small distance from *Lathom*, the Earl of *Darby's* noble House) and the next day to *Warrington*, water'd by the River *Marsee*, over which there is a Bridge, and where the *Scots* disputed that Pass with signal Courage. But the Duke's Army being much weakened through want of that part which went to *Lancaster*, and interposed by some Regiments of the *English* Army, and Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* being some time before come up to reinforce Major-General *Lambert* and Colonel *Harrison* with a numerous Party, the finding his Army much discouraged, and much inferiour in Strength to his Adversaries, as in Despair, he left the Foot to shift for themselves, who being thus deserted, about Four Thousand of them threw down their Arms, having Quarter; the Duke, with Three Thousand Horse, escaping to *Nantwich* in *Cheshire*; where, and by their disorder'd March, the greatest part were snapt by the Country People and some Soldiers that follow'd the Chase. Duke *Hamilton* hastening into *Staffordshire*, at *Utoxiter* yielded himself Prisoner to the Lord *Grey of Groby*, who

who with a Convoy, sent him to *Ashby de la Zouch* (of which the Earl of *Huntington* is Lord) and shortly, with many other of the *Scots*, Prisoners to *London*.

The *Scots* Army being thus overcome, Lieutenant-General *Cromwell*, with his Forces, advanced into *Scotland* without Opposition, hearing that *Monroe* was with 8000 Horse and Foot ready to follow Duke *Hamilton's* Army; but having notice of his Defeat, he thought good to hearken to the Earl of *Argile's* Advice, which was to forbear his March, inasmuch as Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* entered *Scotland* with his Forces unopposed, and at *Edinburgh* was amicably received, and treated with all demonstrations of Affection; such are the strange Effects and Vicissitudes of War.

All this time *Colchester* held out, tho' straitly besieged by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* with his Army, where much Gallantry and Valour appeared on both sides; yet at length the Besieged, being in want of Powder and other Provisions, and having certain Intelligence of Duke *Hamilton's* Overthrow, as also hopeless of Help from Abroad, or a Supply of what the Town and Garrison extremely wanted, and how unsuccessful the King's Parties had been

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in several Places, having call'd a Council of War, it was resolv'd that Commissioners should be nam'd to treat with Sir *Thomas Fairfax* upon certain Articles, which being agreed, *Colchester* was deliver'd up to the Parliament's General the 27th day of *August* 1648. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* forthwith removing to *S. Albans*, which for some time he made his head Quarter.

These military Proceedings happening during his Majesties Confinement at *Carisbrook-Castle*, I thought pertinent to intermix with other Occurrences, which otherwise should have been omitted.

Now in regard it hath been suggested by some, that the King was not ignorant of Duke *Hamilton's* Preparations and Intentions, by force of Arms to set his Majesty at Liberty, and settle him in his Throne, and that the King, by a Letter from the Queen, was acquainted therewith, which Letter was intercepted, the Seal violated, and the Letter read by some great Officers of the Army, Members of the Commons House, who, during his Majesty's being with the Army after his remove from *Holmby*, had (upon valuable Considerations of Wealth and Honour) undertaken, by their Interest in both places, to
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restore the King, upon condition that he would wholly confide in them, without having Recourse to other Means; which his Majesty consenting to, they carried on their Design until they met with the Queens Letter, which startled them; so as closing it very artificially, and conveying it into the King's Hands, he could not perceive the Letter had been intercepted, or the Seal broken, whereby the Intelligence the Queen gave might be known to any but himself. Upon their Discourse soon after with the King, asking him, If he knew that Duke *Hamilton* was with a powerful Army of *Scots*, preparing to do that by Force which they had undertaken to effect by their Interest with both Houses of Parliament and Army, in no wise doubting to compass it for his happy Restoration. The King not acquainting them with the Contents of her Majesty's Letter concerning the Duke's Invasion, they were thenceforth distrustful of him, which totally alter'd their former Resolution, in order to his Re-establishment and Freedom.

This, as I said before, hath been suggested; but assuredly little Credit is given to this Report, especially by unbiassed Persons.

For, albeit, some great Commanders in the Army, by the Influence they had also in both Houses,

Houses, might probably, upon a right Prospect of Peace, and Expectation of Preferment (a powerful Magnet) confirm the King in his Belief (Credulity being rather a Fault than an Offence, seeing it hurts none but it self) they both could and would use their best Endeavours to accommodate him by a speedy Composure of all those Differences that secluded him from exercising his Regal Power, the thing aim'd at, and by sober Persons cordially desired; yet is not to be presumed, his Majesty would dissemble or falsifie his Word and Promise, to depend upon them, the Business being so much to his satisfaction, and may be supposed, that his Majesty might at *Hampton-Court* (where it is pretended the Letter was intercepted) having the opportunity to acquaint the Queen with the fair Hopes and Intentions of the Army to encline the Two Houses to agree the Differences, and remove the Jealousies that occasion'd this late War, and restore Peace to a distracted Kingdom, which it's probable her Majesty would be glad to hear, and acquiesce in the King's Prudence; so as it is unlikely the Queen would hazard his Restoration any other way, especially by the *Scots*, who, if Success should smile upon them in that Attempt, would in all probability have insisted upon his Majesty's taking and confirming

firming the League and Covenant, which the King was averſe to. Nor had his Maſteſty Confidence in Duke *Hamilton*, as appear'd by that his Prefage; that if the Duke would in a hoſtile way enter this Kingdom, he was a loſt Perſon; and if ſuch a thing ſhould happen, he charged all ſuch as had been of his Party in the War, to forbear joyning with the *Scots*. Nor can it rationally be granted, that the Queen could, at the King's Reſidence at *Hampton-Court*, have ſuch quick Intelligence of Duke *Hamilton's* Deſign, the time of this intercepted Letter being near Eleven Months before the Committee of Danger was formed, which was previous to the Duke's Preparations, or any thing in order to it. Moreover, granting there was ſuch a Letter, yet that it ſhould be intercepted, ſeems ſtrange, being preſum'd it would be ſent by a truſty Perſon; and the Court at that time being without any Reſtraint, none forbidden Access unto the King; alſo no leſs incredible, that her Maſteſty's Seal being broken, could be ſo artificially clos'd, as the King (who was accurate in obſerving Seals and Curioſities of all forts) ſhould not diſcern the Fraud. And as to the Diſcontent thoſe Army-Officers expreſſed by abſenting themſelves from Court; this Relater obſerved no ſuch thing, but that, as at other times, they frequented

frequented it, so as until the King in disguise went thence, the Military Men did not withdraw, nor till the Commissioners departed, as did all the King's Servants, who, as Men amaz'd, stood for some time gazing one upon another; for being then without a Master, the Diet ceased, and with sad Hearts they went thence to their several Homes; so that upon the whole matter it may be believed, the Report concerning the Letter of Intelligence from the Queen, is fictitious, only design'd to asperse the King, and to blemish his Integrity, which (as he himself hath declar'd) he highly priz'd; and indeed a Saying of his is worthy to be writ in Letters of Gold, *That he could more willingly lose his Crowns than his Credit, his Kingdoms being less valuable to him than his Honour and Reputation.*

Faith, assuredly, is the Foundation upon which Justice and Truth are built, saith Cicero the Orator, and great Statesman, who (albeit the Romans of all Men got most by War) hath this Assertion, That an unjust Peace is preferable to a just War; and it was a generous saying of King Henry IV. of France, our King's Father in Law, *That it was a barbarous thing, yea, contrary to Christianity and Nature, to make War for the Love of*

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War; a Christian King never refusing Peace, if not wholly disadvantageous. For a King's Honour and Justice are, and ought to be like a Rock of Diamonds, that remains impenetrable. It was an excellent and Memorable Expression of the King, such time as he signed the Petition of Right, he did it with a good Heart; For (saith he) Prerogative is to defend the Subjects Liberty and Freedom, seeing their Freedom strengthens the King's Prerogative. Thus much I have thought fit to say, to wipe off that Aspersiō of Double-Dealing, and to vindicate injur'd Innocence.

Return we now to the Isle of *Wight*.

I formerly hinted, that during the time that *Dr. Sheldon* (afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*) and *Dr. Hammond*, his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary, were permitted to wait at *Carisbrook-Castle*, they performed the Service afore the King; howbeit their stay was but short, the Governour giving them unexpectedly a Dismiss; so as the King thenceforth was Chaplain to himself, not thinking fit to accept any Minister of the Presbytery, albeit he return'd them Thanks, and was civil to them.

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Amongst others of that Judgment (conforming to the Directory) was one Mr. *Troughton*, a young Man, and I think, a Graduate in one of our Universities, who (during his Majesty's Confinement in *Carisbrook-Castle*) was Chaplain to the Governour, and Preacher to the Officers and Soldiers in that Garrison. He seldom fail'd to be in the Presence-Chamber, when the King dined, delighting to see the King, and though he was but young, yet was he a Student, and could argue pretty well in defence of some Tenets he held in opposition to some Ceremonies he had seen practised in Churches, and Discipline in the Episcopacy. The King usually, after Meals, would walk for near an Hour, and take many turns in the Presence-Chamber, and pleasurably enter into Disputation with Mr. *Troughton*, who was very earnest in maintaining his Arguments, and the King never discouraged him, but being the better Logician, had the Advantage ; and being better read in History and Controversial Points, gained Ground of his Opponent. The King always parted merrily, and was very pleasant ; but one time, during their Discourse, this young Disputant standing at one end of the Room, between a Lieutenant of Foot (who had his Sword in his Hand, and was earnestly hearkening to their

Debate) and a Gentleman that was not known to many there; the King in the heat of his Discourse, took the Officers Sword out of his Hand so unexpectedly, as made the Officer look strangely, and then drawing it, affrighted the Disputant, he not imagining the reason, untill the Gentleman (better understanding the meaning) fell presently upon his Knee, and his Majesty laying the Sword on his Shoulder, conferr'd upon him the Honour of Knighthood, telling him, It was to perform a Promise to his Relations. That * young Gentleman is since advanced to greater Honour and Office under our Sovereign.

* *Sir John Duncomb.*

From *Carisbrook*-Castle his Majesty sent some Proposals to the Parliament, who return'd Four preliminary Articles (which the *Scotch* Commissioners disrelish'd) and the King disliked, as improper to precede a Treaty, which occasion'd a stricter Guard, and that Vote of making no further Address, which nevertheless was soon after repeal'd. And about the middle of *August* 1648. the Earl of *Middlesex* was sent by the House of Lords, and *Sir John Hippesty* and *Mr. John Bulkeley* from the House of Commons, to present the King with the Votes of both Houses of Parliament, for a personal Treaty with his Majesty, upon the

the Propositions rendered at *Hampton-Court*, and a Committee of Lords and Commons, at such time as his Majesty should think fit to appoint, and to be with Honour and Safety to his Royal Person.

The King, in the first place, gave them his Hand to kiss, and then told them, That their Address being in order to Peace, doubled their Welcome, Peace being the thing he earnestly desired; assuring them withal, that if upon the Treaty Peace did not ensue, it should be no Fault of his, he would not be blamed.

In order thereto, his Majesty was pleased to write back unto his Parliament, signifying the receipt of their late Votes; declaring withall, That he would treat with such of their Members as they should think fit to nominate and appoint to meet at *Newport* in the *Isle of Wight*; engaging withall, his Royal Word, that he would not depart out of the Island during the Treaty (which was limited to Six Weeks time) nor in Three Weeks after.

Pursuant whereto, several Lords and Members of the House of Commons, namely, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*,

and *Middlesex*, Viscount *Say and Seal*, the Lord *Winman*, Mr. *Pierpoint*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Crew*, Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*, Sir *John Potts*, Serjeant *Glynne*, Serjeant *Browne*, Mr. *Bulkeley*, with some others, were appointed by the Two Houses of Parliament, to repair forthwith to *Newport*, and treat with his Majesty upon certain Propositions.

His Majesty (as soon as he was advertis'd that the Commissioners were on their way) removed from *Carisbrook* (which was to him a place of Cares) to a Gentlemans House in *Newport*, which was accommodated to his business so well as that small place would afford, albeit disproportionate, and of small receipt for a Court. The Kings old Servants having then liberty to attend, several Lords and Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, namely, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hartford*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, Lord High-Chamberlain, with others of the Nobility, likewise repaired thither, as also the Grooms of the Bed-Chamber, Pages of the Back-Stairs, and other Servants that had Offices; all which were permitted their Attendance. Several of the King's Chaplains came thither also; (*viz.*) Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Fuxon*, Dr. *Holdsworth*, Dr. *Sanderson*,
Dr. *Turner*,

Dr. *Turner*, as also Sir *Thomas Gardiner*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, Mr. *Helborn*, Mr. *Palmer* and *Faughan*, &c. and with the Commissioners came Mr. *Marshall*, Mr. *John Carill*, Mr. *Richard Vines*, and Mr. *Seaman*. Mr. *Nye* was there also, and some others, who (as Occasion required) preached afore the Commissioners; and albeit the King would not accept of them amongst his Chaplains either praying or preaching, his Majesty was nevertheless affable to them, and said, They were welcome, always desiring (as he has published) those pious Assistances, which holy and good Ministers either Prelates or Presbyters could afford him, especially in those Extremities, which God had pleased to permit some of his Subjects to reduce him to.

Great Rejoycing there was on all hands for this Convention, and fair Hopes appear'd that God would vouchsafe to give his Blessing to it.

The Court being thus settled, and the most convenient House *Newport* could afford prepar'd (the Town indeed is large, and of many Streets, but the Building none of the best, yet gave sufficient Accommodation to that great Concourse of Men, as also to some Foot-Companies that were quarter'd there) the King,

so soon as the Lords and Gentlemen that came from the Two Houses of Parliament had kiss'd his Majesty's Hand, and repos'd a little while after their Land and Sea-Travel, met them at the appointed place, where being set, the King under a State at the end of the Room, and the Parliament-Commissioners at some distance on either side the Board, several Lords, and the King's Chaplains, *viz.* Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Holdsworth*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Sanderson*, Dr. *Turner*, and the Bishop of *London*, as also Dr. *Morley*, standing behind the King's Chair; he forthwith entred to treat with them upon their Proposals, and a fair Progress was made therein by his Majesty's ready Condescension, especially in what related to Civil Affairs; wherein the Commissioners, were pursuant to their Instructions, principally concerned. His Majesty had also some Conferences with the Assembly Divines, Mr. *Marshall*, and the other Three lately nam'd, in which was controverted some different Judgments referring to the ingenuous and true Sense the Primitive Fathers had of Bishop and Presbyter, how understood as to their Administrations; for as to the Office of Deacons, that was agreed by both, but in the other their Opinions differ'd. However, in these Debates there were no Heats on either side, but manag'd with great Sobriety and

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Moderation. And in all this Treaty his Majesty was observ'd in the whole Transaction, both with the Commissioners and Divines, to keep a constant Decorum, with great Prudence, Cautiousness, and good Order. And albeit he was single, and obliged to answer what the Commissioners (who were many) had in Proposition or Objection, his Majesty's Answers were pertinent, and deliver'd without any Perturbation or show of Discomposure, albeit he had to do with Persons, as of high Civility and Observance to the King, so of great Parts and Understanding in the Law and Affairs of State, and both for their Ingenuity and fair Carriage much commended by the King, as Occasion afterwards offered.

The Propositions sent from the Two Houses of Parliament, to treat upon with the King, were Eleven in Number.

The *First* was, That the King should forthwith call in all such Proclamations and Declarations as his Majesty had at any time, during the late War, issu'd against the Proceedings of the Two Houses of Parliament ; to which the King agreed, provided, that neither this Concession, nor any other of his upon this Treaty, should be of any force, unless the whole were agreed. The

The *Second* was concerning the Settlement of the Church, as to his confirming the Assembly of Divines sitting in the Abby of *Westminster*, and to a settling of the Directory, and establishing of the Presbyterian Government for Three Years, reserving, nevertheless, to himself and his Party a Liberty to use the old Form, his Majesty agreed. But as to the abolishing Episcopacy and that Hierarchy, or to the alienating the Church-Lands, or any part thereof, his Majesty would by no means give his Assent.

To the *Third* Proposal, his Majesty was willing to permit the Parliament to have the Militia in their Hands for Twenty Years.

To the *Fourth*, for nulling the Cessation in *Ireland*, and leaving for some time the Government both Civil and Military in the Hands of his Two Houses of Parliament, the King agreed.

To the *Fifth* and *Sixth* Proposals, for vacating Titles of Honour conferr'd since his Majesty's Great Seal was carried from *London* to *Oxford*; and for Payment of publick Debts, the King gave his Assent.

To

To the *Seventh*, That Delinquents (that is) those of his Party should submit unto a Fine, and be prohibited Access unto the Court ; as also, unto the Council without the Parliaments Consent ; and likewise, that for Three Years they should be disabled and debarr'd from sitting in either House of Parliament without their consent ; and also to undergo a legal Tryal, if the Two Houses of Parliament thought fit, and to suffer according to merit, if convicted by due course of Law. Thus far his Majesty was willing to agree ; but as to the charging them, or any of them, with Treason ; or as to the taking away their, or any of their Lives or Estates for acting things by his Commission during the late War in a military way or any other (save such as after a legal Proceeding should be found guilty of breaking the establish'd Laws of the Land) the King positively refus'd to give his Assent.

To the *Eighth* Proposal his Majesty agreed, That the Parliament should have power to confer all Offices in his Kingdom, and likewise constitute Magistrates for Twenty Years.

To the *Ninth*, for his confirming their new Broad Seal, with all Grants and Commissions past under the same, the King agreed.

To

To the *Tenth* Proposal, That all Charters, Grants, Privileges, and Immunities, with power to dispose of the Tower of *London* be ratifi'd, the Militia there confirm'd, and the Citizens of *London* exempted from military Duty and Service out of their Liberties, unless order'd by the Two Houses of Parliament, the King agreed.

To the *Eleventh*, That the Court of Wards should be abolish'd, his Majesty having yearly One Hundred Thousand Pounds paid him in Composition or Compensation thereof, his Majesty agreed. This is a Breviate of them.

The Treaty having this fair Aspect, it was the Judgment, as well as Wishe, of all such as were Lovers of Peace, that King and Parliament would now unite ; and the rather, for that the Lords, upon the Report made unto them by their Commissioners in this Negotiation, voted, That what the King had condescended to, seem'd to them satisfactory ; and in the Commons House, after a long and sharp Debate, it was carried by majority of Voices, That his Majesty's Answers and Concessions were a Ground sufficient and satisfactory for the Parliament to proceed upon, in order to a Settlement of the Kingdoms Peace.

These

These Resolves made most Men likewise verily believe there would be a happy Union and Agreement between his Majesty and the Parliament ; and that these long and sharp Contests in Civil-War (if it may properly be so called, where Families are sadly divided, and Estates unnaturally destroy'd) would now be wound up in a peaceful Conclusion.

But as his Majesty well observed, Jealousies are not so easily allay'd as rais'd. For albeit, his Heart (he said) inclined sincerely to whatsoever might advance Piety and Peace amongst his People, yet the crying Sins of this Nation (as the Sequel manifested) had so heightned God's Indignation, as those good Hopes and Expectations were suddenly blasted. Peace, upon that score, being by some unquiet Spirits, then in Power, judged unsafe and inconvenient ; so as the Object, be it never so beautiful, if it do but thwart their Design, shall be look'd upon as deformed. And his Majesty has this Expression upon Record, *God knows, and time will (certainly) discover, who are most to blame for the Unsuccessfulness of that Treaty, the Product of many succeeding Calamities.*

His

His Majesty was vehemently perswaded by some to leave the Island for his more safety, the Times having an ill aspect towards him; but no Arguments could prevail with him to violate his Parole, as formerly hinted.

Now, in regard there are sundry Relations published of the Matters that ensu'd, as also of the Force that was soon after put upon the House of Commons, by some Officers of the Army, and whence influenc'd, as also of their garrisoning *White-Hall* with Two Foot Regiments, and upon what Design, is needless to be repeated here, the Scope of this Relation being only to give the Occurrents of such Court-Passages as this Relater was an Eye-Witness to, and in reference to his Observation of the sad and direful Effects following.

While Matters hung thus in suspense, the King nevertheless seem'd confident, that for as much as his Concessions were voted satisfactory to the Majority of Both Houses of Parliament, the Conclusion would be answerable, as to a firm and lasting Peace. But, alas ! In Opposition thereto, Lieutenant-Col. *Cobbit*, an Officer in Colonel *Fortescue's* Regiment (*Joyce* like) came unexpectedly to

New-

Newport with a commanded Party of Horse, and, in the first place, made enquiry for Colonel *Hammond's* Quarters in the Town; having order to secure him, the reason unknown, unless from an apprehension the despositick Agitators had, that he was too much a Courtier, which they approved not of. Howbeit, being premonish'd, he evaded him, though very narrowly. But in this Conjecture they were mistaken; for albeit, by his constant walking and discoursing with the King, whensoever his Majesty, for Refreshment, walked about the Works at *Carisbrook*, there being none so fit nor forward as he, being Governour; which gave him the opportunity to ingratiate himself into his Majesty's Favour, and made the Army-Officers jealous of him, being solely intrusted with the Person of the King. Nevertheless he forfeited the King's good Opinion, by that uncomly Act of looking into his Scrutore, to search for some supposed Papers of Intelligence from the Queen, and Correspondency with others, wherein he miss'd his aim. Mr. *Harrington* and Mr. *Herbert* were then in the Green waiting on the King, who finding the Weather somewhat cold, the King bid Mr. *Herbert* go for his Cloak; and entring the Bed-Chamber, found the Governour ready to come forth, with one other Officer in company, and Mr. *Reading*,
who

who then waited as Page of the Back-Stairs, and by Insinuation had let him in. *Mr. Herbert*, as he was returning to the Green with his Majesty's Cloak, gave the Page a sharp Rebuke, which the Governour being acquainted with, threatned *Mr. Herbert* to give him a Dismiss, for censuring that Act of his; and, without doubt, had expell'd him the Castle, if his Majesty, of his Goodness, had not pass'd it by, without either reproaching the Governour, or taking notice thereof. Those, with some other Aggravations, made the King design an Escape, Horses being provided and laid near the Castle, and a Vessel made ready for his Transportation; but by a corrupted Corporal in the Garrison, took not effect; and a Providence was therein, his Person being hazarded, if he had made the Attempt; and for which an Officer had his Tryal afterwards by due course of Law, upon a Charge of High-Treason, as the History of those Times mentions. But to return; Lieutenant-Colonel *Cobbit* failing of his first Design of apprehending Colonel *Hammond*, he made a higher flight in the next place, making an abrupt Address unto the King, letting him know, that he had Orders to remove him forthwith from *Newport*. The King beheld the Lieutenant-Colonel with Astonishment, and interrogated him, Whether his

his Order was to remand him back to his Prison at *Carisbrook* ? The Lieutenant said, No. Whither then, said the King ? Out of the *Isle of Wight*, reply'd the Colonel ; but the place he was to remove the King unto, he was not to communicate. I pray Sir, by your Favour (said the King) let me see your Orders. As to that, the Lieutenant-Colonel desired to be excused ; This Business (said he) is of no ordinary Concernment, so as I may not satisfy any Man's Enquiry, until a fitter season. Now was verifi'd his Majesty's Maxim, That such as will assume the Boldness to adventure upon a King, must not be thought over modest or timorous to carry on his Design. His Majesty being thus deny'd a sight, demanded, If his Orders or Instructions were from Parliament, or General of their Army ? His Answer was, He had them from neither, neither from any else. It may be so, (said the King) seeing you are afraid to shew them. But that he had Orders, or secret Instructions for this bold Act, is not to be doubted ; for tho there was but One General, yet things were at that time so much out of frame, both in the Commons House and Army, as there were many Commanders.

The Duke of *Richmond*, the Lord High-Chamberlain, the Lord Marquis of *Hartford*, with others of the Nobility, several venerable
G Persons,

Persons, and many of the King's Household-Servants at that time attending, were in a manner confounded at this Surprize and unexpected Accident ; yea, not a little affrighted with Ideas and Apprehensions of Danger to his Majesty's Person ; and the more for that the Lieutenant-Colonel refus'd to satisfy any, to what place he would go, or what he intended to do with the King, other than that no Harm or Violence should be offer'd him.

The Lieutenant-Colonel press'd the King to take Coach ; the Coach accordingly was made ready, and brought to the Door where the King lodged.

Never, at one time, 'tis thought, was beheld more Grief in Mens Faces, or greater Fears in their Hearts, the King being at such a time, and in such a manner hurried away they knew not whither ; but no Remedy appearing, the Noblemen, the venerable Persons, and other his Majesty's Servants, approach'd to kiss the King's Hand, and to pour forth their Supplications to Almighty God to safeguard and comfort his Majesty in that his disconsolate Condition.

His Majesty, who, at other times, was chearful, at his parting from his Friends shew'd

shew'd Sorrow in his Heart, by the Sadness of his Countenance ; a real Sympathy.

The King now ready to take Coach, asked the Lieutenant-Colonel, Whether he was to have any Servants with him? Only such (said he) as are most useful. The King then nominated Mr. *Harrington* and Mr. *Herbert* to attend in his Bed-Chamber, and scarce a Dozen more for other Service. The King taking notice that Mr. *Herbert* had for Three Days absented himself, Mr. *Harrington* told his Majesty, He was sick of an Ague. He then desired the D. of *Richmond* to send one of his Servants to see in what Condition he then was, and if any thing well, to come along with him. The Gentleman the Duke sent found him sweating ; but so soon as he receiv'd the Message, arose, and came speedily to his Majesty, who soon took Coach, and commanded Mr. *Harrington*, Mr. *Herbert*, and Mr. *Mildmay*, his Carver, to come into his Coach ; and the Lieutenant-Colonel offering to enter the Coach uninvited, his Majesty (by opposing his Foot) made him sensible of his Rudeness, so as with some Shame he mounted his Horse, and follow'd with a Guard of Horse, the Coachman driving as he directed.

The King in this Passage shew'd no Discomposure at all, but would be asking the Gentlemen in the Coach with him, Whither they thought he was travelling? They made some simple Replies, such as serv'd to make his Majesty smile at their innocent Conjectures; otherwhile could comfort himself with what he had granted at his late Treaty with the Commissioners, whom he highly prais'd for their Ingenuity and fair Deportment at *Newport*, as formerly mentioned.

The Coach (by the Lieutenant-Colonel's Directions) went Westwards towards *Worsley-Tower* in *Fresh-Water-Isle*, a little beyond *Tarmouth-Haven*; thereabout his Majesty rested, until the Vessel was ready to take him aboard, with those few his Attendants. The King, after an Hours stay, went aboard, a sorrowful Spectacle, and great Example of Fortune's Inconstancy. The Wind and Tide favouring, they cross'd that narrow Sea in Three Hours, and landed at *Hurst-Castle* (or Block-House rather) erected by order of King *Henry VIII.* upon a spot of Earth a good way into the Sea, and joyned to the firm Land by a narrow Neck of Sand which is covered over with small loose Stones and Pebbles, and upon both sides the Sea beats,

so as at Spring-Tides and stormy Weather the Land-passage is formidable and hazardous. The Castle has very thick Stone-Walls, and the Platforms are regular, and both have several Culverines and Sakers mounted, which if their Shot doth not reach such Ships as pass that narrow Strait that is much frequented, they threaten them; nevertheless a dismal Receptacle or Place for so great a Monarch, the greatest part of whose Life and Reign had been prosperous and full of earthly Glory; but by his Example we are taught, that greatest Persons many times meet with adverse Changes, and are forced to bow under the Stroaks of Misfortune, yea, in their highest Exaltation are the usual Marks at which the Instruments of Envy and Malice are levell'd: So as we see plainly, there is no state of Man's Life so happy as hath not some Cross, evidencing the Uncertainty of worldly Enjoyments, and that real Comforts are elsewhere to be expected.

The Captain of this wretched place was not unsuitable; for at the King's going ashore, he stood ready to receive him, with small Observance; his Look was stern, his Hair and large Beard were black and bushy; he held a Partizan in his Hand, and (*Switz-like*) had a great Basket-hilt Sword by his

side ; hardly could one see a Man of a more grim Aspect, and no less robust and rude was his Behaviour. Some of his Majesty's Servants were not a little fearful of him ; and that he was design'd for Mischiefe, especially when he vapour'd, being elevated with his Command, and puff'd up by having so Royal a Prisoner ; so as probably he conceived, he was nothing inferiour to the Governour of the Castle at *Milan* ; but being complain'd of to his superiour Officer, appear'd a Bubble ; for being pretty sharply admonish'd, he quickly became mild and calm, a Posture ill-becoming such a Rhodomont, and made it visible that this Humour (or Tumour rather) was acted to curry Favour, wherein also he was mistaken : For to give the Lieutenant-Colonel his due, after his Majesty came under his Custody, he was very civil to the King, both in his Language and Behaviour, and courteous to those that attended upon all Occasions ; nor was his Disposition rugged towards such as in Loyalty and Love came to see the King, and to pray for him ; as sundry out of *Hampshire* did, and the neighbouring Counties.

His Majesty (as it may well be granted) was very slenderly accommodated at this place. The Room he usually eat in, was
neither

neither large nor lightsome ; at Noon-day (in that Winter-Season) requiring Candles; and at Night he had his Wax Lamp set (as formerly) in a Silver Bason, which illuminated his Bed-Chamber. This sad Condition makes me call to mind a Relation you once imparted to me well worth the Remembrance, That the late Earl of *Lindsey* (being one of the Gentlemen of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber) one Night lying on a Pallate by the King's Bed-side (not long before his leaving *Oxford*, and going thence to the *Scots*) at the foot thereof (as was usual every Night) was placed a Lamp, or round Cake of Wax in a silver Bason set upon a Stool ; the Earl awaking in the Night, observ'd the Room to be perfectly dark, and thereupon raising himself up, looked towards the Lamp, and concluded that it might be extinguished by some Water got into the Bason by some Creek ; but not hearing the King stir, he forbore rising, or to call upon those that lay in the next Chamber to bring in another Light, fearing to disturb the King's rest ; and about an Hour after he fell asleep again, and awakened not till Morning ; but when he did awake, he discerned the Lamp bright burning, which so astonish'd him, that taking the Boldness to call to the King (whom he heard by his stirring to be awake) he told

him what he had observed ; whereupon the King reply'd, *That he himself awaking also in the Night, took notice that all was dark ; and to be fully satisfi'd, he put by the Curtain to look at the Lamp ; but some time after he found it light, and concluded the Earl was risen, and had set it upon the Bason lighted again.* The Earl assured his Majesty he did not. The King then said, *He did consider it as a Prognostick of God's future Favour and Mercy towards him or his ; that although he was at that time so eclipsed, yet either he or they might shine out bright again.* To return :

In this ecliptic Condition was the King (the Place and Military Persons duly consider'd) sequestred in a manner from the Comfort Earth and Air affords ; and in some sort from the Society of Men ; the Earth confining his Majesty to that Promontory or Gravel-Walk over-spread with loose Stones a good depth, which rendred it very uneasie and offensive to his Feet ; but endur'd it with his accustomed Patience and Serenity of Spirit, and with more Alacrity than they that followed him.

The Air was equally noxious, by reason of the marish Grounds that were about, and the unwhollom Vapours arising from the Sargasso's and Weeds the Salt Water constantly at
Tides

Tides and Storms casts upon the Shoar, and by the Fogs that those marine Places are most subject to ; so as the Dwellers thereabouts find by Experience, how that the Air is insalubrious, and disposing to Diseases, especially aguish Distempers. Nevertheless, in this dolorous place the King was content to walk above Two Miles in length, but a few Paces in breadth ; the Governour one time, Captain *Reynolds* at another, discoursing, and Mr. *Harrington* or Mr. *Herbert*, by his Majesty's Order, and their Duty, ever attending him. That which made some Amends, was a fair and uninterrupted Prospect a good way into the Sea, a View into the *Isle of Wight* one way, and Main Land the other, with the sight of Ships of all sizes daily under sail, with which his Majesty was much delighted.

During his Majesty's Confinement at *Hurst-Castle*, it so happened, that Mr. *Harrington*, being one Morning in company with the Governour and some other Officers of the Army, he fell into some Discourse with them concerning the late Treaty at *Newport*, wherein he magnifi'd the King's Wisdom in his Arguments with the Commissioners upon the Propositions and Satisfaction the Parliament had in his Concessions, and probability of a happy Event, if this Force in removing him
had

had not interven'd, and made an unhappy Fracture, which created Parties; enlarging upon his Majesty's learned Disputes with Mr.*Vines*, and the other Presbyterian Divines, with such Moderation, as gained Applause from all those that heard them argue; which Discourse, how inoffensive soever, and without Exception, at any other time and place, it appears that Truth is not at all times seasonable nor safe to be spoken, as by Mr.*Harrington's* Example was evidenced; for those captious Persons with whom he held Discourse, being full of Jealousies, and apt to wrest his Words to the worst Sense, they withdrew a little, and at their return told him plainly, They were dissatisfi'd with what he had said. He pray'd them to instance wherein. They reply'd, In all particulars; which, when he began to repeat for his own Justification and their better Understanding, they interrupted him, and told him in plain terms, They could not suffer his Attendance any longer about the King. With which Proceeding and Dismiss, without acquainting him with the occasion, was ill resent'd by the King, who had Mr.*Harrington* in his good Esteem, being a Gentleman qualifi'd with special Parts, and having found him trusty, his Service was the more acceptable; but blam'd him nevertheless for not being more wary amongst Men, that at
such

such a time were full of Jealousies, and very little obliging to his Majesty.

There was none now left to wait upon the King in his Bed-Chamber but Mr. *Herbert*, and he *in motu trepidationis*; who, nevertheless, held out, by his careful observing his Majesty's Instructions, without which (as the Times then were) it had been impossible for him to have kept his Station.

His Majesty being thus reduc'd to this deplorable Condition, he could not choose but have some melancholy Apprehensions, and accordingly about Mid-night there was an unusual Noise, that awakened the King out of his sleep, and was in some marvel to hear the Draw-Bridge let down at that unseasonable Hour, and some Horse-Men enter, who being alighted, the rest of that Night was in deep silence. The King being desirous to know the matter, he before break of Day rung his Silver Bell, which, with both his Watches, were usually laid upon a Stool near the Wax Lamp, that was set near them in a large Silver Bason; upon which Call, Mr. *Herbert* opened the Bed-Chamber Door, to know his Majesty's Pleasure. The King told him, He would rise; and as he was making ready, he ask'd him, If he heard the Noise that was
about

about mid-night? Mr. *Herbert* answer'd, He did, as also the falling of the Draw-Bridge; but being shut up in the back-Stair Room, next the Bed-Chamber, and the Door, by the Governour's Order being bolted without, he neither could nor would, without his Majesty's Order, adventure out at such a time of Night. The King then bad him go and learn what the matter was; and accordingly Mr. *Herbert* went, and knocking at the back-Stair Door, the Soldiers unbolted it without, and he within, and entering into the next Room, he happily found Captain *Reynolds* there alone by a Fire; and after some Discourse, he enquired of the Captain, Who they were that came so very late into the Castle, and their Errand? The Captain, in a joaking way, bad him be wary in carrying News to the King, he was amongst suspicious Superintendants, and his Comrade serv'd for his Example Mr. *Herbert* thank'd him for his friendly Caution, and at length got out of him who the Commander was that came so late into the Castle, but would not discover what his Business was.

Mr. *Herbert* speedily returning to his Majesty, told him, It was Major *Harrison* thar came so late into the Castle. Are you sure it was Major *Harrison*, said the King? May
it

it please your Majesty (said Mr. *Herbert*) Captain *Reynolds* told me so. Then I believe it, said the King ; but did you see Major *Harrison*? No, Sir, said Mr. *Herbert*. Would not Captain *Reynolds* (saith the King) tell you what the Major's Business is? Mr. *Herbert* reply'd, He did what he could to be inform'd, but all he could then learn from the Captain was, The Occasion of *Harrison's* coming would be known speedily. The King said no more, but bad him attend in the next Room, and went to Prayer. In less than an Hour the King open'd the Bed-Chamber Door, and beckon'd to Mr. *Herbert* to come in and make him ready. Mr. *Herbert* was in some Consternation to see his Majesty so much discompos'd, and wept; which the King observing, ask'd him the meaning of it? Mr. *Herbert* reply'd, Because I perceive your Majesty so much troubled and concerned at the News I brought. *I am not afraid,* (said the King) *but do not you know that this is the Man who intended to assassinate me, as by Letter I was informed, during the late Treaty. To my knowledge I never saw the Major, though I have heard oft of him, nor ever did him Injury. The Commissioners, indeed, hearing of it, represented it from Newport to the House of Lords; what Satisfaction he gave them I cannot tell; this I can, that I trust in God, who is my Helper, I*
would

would not be surpriz'd; this is a place fit for such a purpose. Herbert, I trust to your care; go again, and make further Enquiry into his Business. Mr. Herbert immediately went out, and finding an Opportunity to speak in private with Capt. Reynolds (who being a Gentleman well educated, and at all Essays expressed Civility towards the King, with whom he most times walked on the stony ground, formerly mention'd, and was courteous to his Servants) he told him, That the Major's Business was to remove the King thence to Windsor-Castle within Three Days at farthest. Mr. Herbert believing that the King would be well pleas'd with the Exchange, by leaving the worst to enjoy the best Castle in England, return'd to his Majesty with a mirthful Countenance, little imagining (God knows) the sad Consequence. And so soon as the King heard Windsor named, he seem'd to rejoyce at it.

Major Harrison staid Two Nights at Hurst; and when it was dark (having given Orders for the King's Removal) he returned from whence he came, without seeing the King, or speaking with any that attended his Majesty.

Two Days after, Lieutenant - Colonel *Cobbit* came and acquainted his Majesty with the Orders he had receiv'd for his remove thence to *Windsor*-Castle forthwith. The King told him, He was more kind now than he was at *Newport*, when he would not gratifie him or any other with the knowledge of the place he was to go to. *Windsor* was a place he ever delighted in, and would make amends for what at *Hurst* he had suffered.

All things being, in short time, made ready, he bad solitary *Hurst* adieu; and having pass'd the narrow Passage (which reaches well nigh from *Hurst* to *Milford*, Three long Miles) there appeared a Party of Horse belonging to that Army, and had then their Winter-Quarter at *Lind-Hurst*, and were ordered to convoy the King to *Winchester*; but going first to *Ringwood*, then through the new Forrest to *Rumsey* (where is a fair Church, being the Remains of a dissolved Nunnery, founded by great King *Edgar*, about the Year of our Lord 970.) went from thence to the City of *Winchester*, which was heretofore the Royal Seat of the *West-Saxon* Kings, the Bones of many of them being shrin'd in little gilded Coffers, by Bishop *Fox*, and placed upon the top of some Walls within the Choire of the
Cathedral

Cathedral, first built by *Kinelwalch*, a *West-Saxon* King, upon the Subversion of a Monastery of Monks, which, during the *Roman* Empire flourish'd; but that decaying, it was with greater Magnificence re-edifi'd by succeeding Bishops, since the Conquest, and all the West Part by Bp. *Wickham*, from the Choire. And amongst other famous Prelates here born, were *S. Swithin*, Bishop of this See, *Anno Dom.* 840. and *William* (the Son of *Herbert*, who was Lord-Chamberlain to King *Henry I.*) made Archbishop of *Tork* by King *Stephen*, *Anno Dom.* 1145. and canoniz'd in the Year of our Lord 1226. by *Honorius*, the Pope.

At the King's Entrance into *Winchester*, the Mayor and Aldermen of the City (notwithstanding the Times) receiv'd the King with dutiful Respect, and the Clergy did the like; yea, during his short stay there, the Gentry, and others of inferiour Rank, flock'd thither in great Numbers to welcome his Majesty; some out of Curiosity to see, others out of Zeal to pray for his Enlargement and Happiness; with which the King was much satisfi'd, and was pleas'd to many of them to give his Hand to kiss. Thence his Majesty rode to *Alton*, and then to *Alesford*; the Inhabitants round about making haste to see his Majesty pass by, and with joyful Acclamations accom-

accompanying him likewise with Prayers
 for his Preservation, a sure Evidence of
 Affection. From *Alesford* the King pass'd
 to *Farnham*, betwixt which two Towns
 (being about Seven Miles asunder) ano-
 ther Troop of Horse was in good order
 drawn up, by which his Majesty pass'd: It
 was to bring up the Rear. In the Head of
 it was the Captain gallantly mounted and
 armed; a Velvet Monteur was on his Head,
 a new Buff-Coat upon his Back, and a Crim-
 son Silk Scarf about his Waste richly fringed;
 who, as the King pass'd by with an easie
 Pace (as delighted to see Men well hors'd
 and arm'd) the Captain gave the King a
 Bow with his Head all *a-Soldade*, which his
 Majesty requited. This was the first time
 the King saw that Captain.

Mr *Herbert* riding a little behind the King
 (who made no use of his Coach since he
 came from *Hurst-Castle*) he called him to
 come near, and asked him who the Captain
 was; and being told it was Major *Harrison*,
 the King view'd him more narrowly, and
 fix'd his Eyes so steddily upon him, as made
 the Major abash'd, and fall back to his
 Troop looner than probably he intended.
 The King said, *He look'd like a Soldier, and*
that his Aspect was good, and found him not such
 H a one

a one as was represented ; and that having some Judgment in Faces, if he had observ'd him so well before, he should not have harbour'd that ill Opinion of him ; for oft-times the Spirit and Disposition may be discerned by the Countenance ; yet in that one may be deceived.

That Night the King got to *Farnham*, where he was lodg'd in a private Gentleman's House in the Town. The Castle is upon the ascent, and belongs to the Bishop of *Winchester* ; but being then a Garrison, was no fit place for the King's Accommodation ; nor was the Bishop there, or at that time in a condition to pay his Observance (as in Duty he otherwise would) unto his Majesty.

A little before Supper, his Majesty standing by the Fire in a large Parlour wainscoted, and in Discourse with the Mistress of the House, the King (albeit the Room was pretty full of Army-Officers, and Country-People that crowded in to have a sight of the King) nevertheless discovered Major *Harrison* at the far end of the Room talking with another Officer ; the King beckoned to him with his Hand to come nearer him ; which he did with due Reverence. The King then taking him by his Arm, drew him aside towards the Window, where,

where, for half an hour, or more, they discoursed together; and amongst other things, the King minded him of the Information concerning him, which, if true, rendred him an Enemy in the worst sense to his Person; to which the Major in his Vindication assured his Majesty, that what was so reported of him was not true; what he had said, he might repeat, *That the Law was equally obliging to great and small, and that Justice had no respect to Persons*; or words to that purpose; which his Majesty finding affectedly spoken, and to no good End, he left off further Communication with him, and went to Supper, being all the time very pleasant, which was no small rejoycing to many there, to see him so chearful in that Company, and such a Condition.

Next day the King rode from *Farnham* to *Bagshott*, where, at the Lord *Newburgh's* House, he dined; and so through part of the Forest to *Windsor-Castle*; his usual Bed-Chamber in the Palace, towards the far end of the Castle-Ward being prepared for him.

Colonel *Whitchcott* was at that time Governour of the Castle, which was then gar-rison'd with some Foot-Companies. Here the King seem'd to take more Delight than

at any place he had been since his leaving *Hampton-Court*. Here he had the Liberty to walk where and when he pleased, within the Castle, and in the long Terrace without, that looks towards the fair College of *Eaton*. This Terrace is of great length, upon the North-side of that most magnificent Structure. It was begun by Queen *Elizabeth*, and enlarged by succeeding Princes. And albeit you have a larger Prospect from the Keep; yet, from the Terrace you have also a delightful View of the River of *Thames*, of many pleasant Hills and Valleys, Villages and fair Houses far and near; so as no place in this Kingdom may compare with it, save the little Castle or Lodge in *Greenwich-Park*, which has the sight of the great and noble City of *London*, River of *Thames*, and Ships of great Burthen daily under Sail passing to and fro; with other things enumerated by *Barclay* in his *Argenis*. The greatest part of the Forenoon the King spent in Prayer and other Exercises of Piety; part of the Afternoon he set apart for Health, by recreating himself in walking, and usually in the long Terrace. The Governour here, as in other places (after the Commissioners were gone) being for the most part in his Company, for want of others to discourse with. None of the Nobility, nor few of the Gentry, were suffer'd

to come into the Castle to see the King, save upon the *Sundays* to Sermon in St. George's Chapel, where the Chaplain to the Governor and Garrison preached. Col, *Whitchcott* behav'd himself nevertheless very civilly towards the King, and his Observance was taken notice of by his Majesty; as also the Soldiers there, who, in their places, gave no Offence either in Language or Behaviour to the King, or any that served him.

Whilst his Majesty staid at *Windsor*, little pass'd worth the taking notice of; notwithstanding, some thing may be remembred: One Night, as the King was preparing to go to Bed, as his custom was, he wound up both his Watches, one being Gold, the other Silver, he miss'd his Diamond-Seal, a Table that had the King's Arms cut with great Curiosity, and fixt to the Watch; Matter and Work were both of considerable Value. The Seal was set in a Collet of Gold, fastened to a Gold Chain. His Majesty could not imagine either when or where it dropt out; but thought he had it the day before, when he look'd upon his Watch, as he walked in the long Terrace, which being the most probable place to find it in, he bade Mr. *Herbert* look there the next Morning; which, so soon as the King was ready, and had given him his

George and Garter (which his Majesty never fail'd to wear) the King went to his Devotion, and his Servant to search for the Diamond; and for near an Hours space walked upon the Terrace, casting his Eye every where, but could not find it. Some Officers of the Garrison were then upon the Terrace, who observ'd how intent he was; so as they imagin'd he had lost something, and were inquisitive to know what it was; but he, apprehending the Danger in telling them, and Hazard it would run if they should find it, let them know nothing concerning it. He in like manner sought in the Presence, Privy-Chamber, Galleries, *St. George's-Hall*, and every Room the King had been in; but all to no purpose. So as with an anxious Look he returned with this Account, That he had diligently searched every where in likely places, and could not find it, and to acquaint any other he durst not (in regard his Majesty's Arms were engraven in it) unless his Majesty had so directed. The King perceiving *Mr. Herbert* troubled at this Accident, bid him not vex himself about it.

Next Night, a little before his Majesty went to Bed, a good Charcoal Fire being in the Chamber, and Wax-Lights burning, the King cast his Eye to one end of the Room,

and

and saw something sparkle, and pointing with his Finger, bade Mr. *Herbert* take a Candle and see what it was; by good Providence it was the Diamond, which he took up, and found his Majesty's Arms in it, and with joy brought it to the King. Another Night his Majesty appointed Mr. *Herbert* to come into his Bed-Chamber an Hour sooner than usual in the Morning; but it so happened, that he overslept his time, and awaken'd not untill the King's Silver Bell hasten'd him in. *Herbert*, (said the King) *you have not observ'd the Command I gave last Night.* He acknowledg'd his Fault. *Well* (said the King) *I will order you for the future; you shall have a Gold Alarm-Watch, which, as there may be cause, shall awake you; write to the Earl of Pembroke to send me such a one presently.* The Earl immediately sent to Mr. *East*, his Watchmaker, in *Fleet-street*, about it; of which more will be said at his Majesty's coming to *S. James's*.

Another Accident happen'd about this time, which might have prov'd of ill Consequence, if God in Mercy had not prevented it. Mr. *Herbert* lodg'd in a little back Room near the Bed-Chamber, towards *Eaton-College*; it had a back Stair, but was at this time ramm'd up with Earth, to prevent any Passage that way. In this Room he had a

Pallat, which (for the Weather was very sharp) he laid somewhat too near the Chimney, and there were Two Baskets fill'd with Charcoal, for the use of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber; and being asleep in Bed, a Basket took fire, either from some Spark of the Charcoal on the Hearth, or some other way he knew not of; but the Room was soon hot, and the Fire got to the Pallat-Bed, which quickly rouz'd Mr. *Herbert* out of sleep, who, in Amazement ran to the King's Chamber-Door, and in a frightful manner, with that Noise, awakened the King. Those in the Anti-Chamber without, being Soldiers, hearing the King's Chamber was on Fire, desired entrance (for the Door was bolted within, as the King order'd) pretending that they might help to quench it; but through the Goodness of God, without other Assistance, those within suppress'd it, by stifling it with Clothes, and confining it to the Chimney, which was spacious. Mr. *Herbert* humbly beg'd his Majesty's Pardon for the Disturbance he gave, not knowing how to help it. The King said, *He did but his Duty.*

Soon after this, the Governour acquainted his Majesty, he understood how that within few Days he was to be removed thence to *White-Hall*. To this his Majesty made little

Reply;

Reply, seeming nothing so delighted with this Remove, as he was with the former; but turning him about, said, *God is every where alike in Wisdom, Power, and Goodness.*

Some Information he had, how preposterously things went in both Houses of Parliament, wherein he was concerned; and how that the Army-Officers had then published a Remonstrance, designing thereby an Alteration of the Government, and tryal of his Person by some way that was extraordinary and unpresidented; so that immediately he retired into his Bed-Chamber, and was a good while private in his Addresses to God, ever having recourse to him by Prayer and Meditation, in what condition soever he was, as being the surest way to find Comfort.

The Day prefix'd being come, he took Coach near the *Keep* (a high Mount, on which is a Tower built in the middle-ward betwixt the two great Courts within the Castle) a Guard being made all along of Muskets and Pikes; both Officers and Soldiers expressing Civility as he passed by; and at the great Gate a Party of Horse, commanded by Major *Harrison*, were drawn up in the Market-place and *Pease-cod-street* End, who followed the Coach, which passed thro
Brainford,

Brainford, Hammersmith, and the direct way to his Majesty's House at *St. James's*, where his Chamber was furnished by *Mr. Kinnerfly*, his Servant, strict Guards placed, and none suffer'd to attend in his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, save *Mr. Herbert*. Nevertheless, his usual Diet was kept up; and the Gentlemen that formerly waited were permitted to perform their respective Services in the Presence, where a State was placed, and for a few Days all things with Decency and Honour observ'd. *Sir Fulke Grevile* being Cup-bearer, gave it upon his Knee; *Mr. Mildmay* was Carver; *Captain Preston* sometimes Sewer, and kept the Robes; *Mr. Ansty* Gentleman-Usher; *Capt. Burroughs*, *Mr. Firebrass*, *Mr. Muschamp* had their Places; *Capt. Joyner* was Cook; *Mr. Babington* Barber; *Mr. Reading* Page of the Back-stairs; and some others also waited. The King's Dishes were brought up covered, the Say was given, and all things performed with Satisfaction in that Point. But to return a little. It is well worth Observation, that so soon as the King came to his Bed-Chamber, before he either eat or drank, or discoursed with any, he went to Prayer and reading in his Bible.

Whilst he was in this sorrowful Condition, none of the Nobility, no Chaplains, no Coun-
cellours,

cellours, nor any of his old Attendants having the liberty to repair unto him, about the latter end of *December* his Majesty had private notice, how that the House of Commons, in a Resolve, had declared, *That by the Laws of England it was Treason in the King to levy War against the Parliament and Kingdom*; which Resolve they sent up unto the Lords for their Concurrence. The Lords, so soon as they had heard it read, rejected it; and after some Debate, passed Two Votes, First, *That they could not concur with the House of Commons in their Declaratory Resolve*; and Secondly, *As to that Vote of the Commons, or Order for Tryal of the King, they could by no means consent unto it.* Whereupon the House of Commons passed another Vote, *viz. That the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, have the Supream Power.* And pursuant thereto, passed an Act for Tryal of the King.

His Majesty also had Information from private Hands of the late Proceedings in the House of Commons, both as to a violent secluding and seizure of several Members by force, being some of those, that upon the 6th of *December*, --48. voted, *That his Majesty's Concessions were satisfactory for a Settlement of the Kingdoms Peace,*
acted

acted by Colonel *Pride*, and some other eminent Army-Officers, under a Notion of Purging the House ; as also of their Votes passed concerning him ; by which his Majesty was apprehensive of their ill Intentions towards his Person and Government, and did believe his Enemies aim'd at his Deposing and Confinement in the Tower, or some such like place ; and that they would seat his Son the Prince of *Wales* in his Throne, if he would accept of it. But as to their taking away his Life by Tryal in any Court of Justice, or (*subditi*) in the face of his People, that he could not believe, there being no such President, or mention in any of our Histories. 'Tis true, his Grandmother, the Queen of *Scots*, suffered under Queen *Elizabeth* ; but in *England* she was no Sovereign, but a Subject to Law. Indeed, that some Kings of *England* have been lamentably murdered by *Russians* in a clandestine way, our Chronicles inform us ; but the Facts were neither own'd nor approv'd of by any King. Such were his Majesty's Imaginations, until he came to his Tryal in *Westminster-Hall* ; for then he alter'd his Opinion. Nevertheless, his Faith overcoming his Fear, he continu'd his accustomed Prudence and Patience, so as no outward Perturbation could be discerned, with Christian Fortitude submitting
to

to the good Pleasure of the Almighty, sometimes sighing, but never breaking out into a Passion, or uttering a reproachful or revengeful Word against any that were his Adversaries; saying only, *God forgive their Impiety.*

For about a Fortnight after his Majesty's coming to St. James's, he constantly dined publickly in the Presence-Chamber, and at Meals was served after the usual State, the Carver, Sewer, Cup-bearer, and Gentleman-Usher attending and doing their Offices respectively; his Cup was given upon the Knee, as were his cover'd Dishes; the Say was given, and other accustomed Ceremonies of State observed, notwithstanding this his dolorous condition; and the King was well pleased with the Observance afforded him. But then the Case alter'd; for the Officers of the Army (being predominant) gave order at a Court of War, *That thenceforth all State-Ceremony, or accustomed Respect to his Majesty at Meals should be forborn, and his Menial-Servants (though few in number) be lessened.* And accordingly the King's Meat was brought up by Soldiers, the Dishes uncover'd, no Say, no Cup upon the Knee; nor other custom'd Court-State was then observed; which was an uncouth Sight unto the King, saying, that *The Respect and Honour deny'd him, no Sovereign*

Prince:

Prince ever wanted; nor yet Subjects of high Degree, according to ancient practice; further expressing, Is there any thing more contemptible, than a despised Prince? But seeing it was come to such a pass, the best Expedient he had to reconcile it, was to contract his Diet to a few Dishes out of the Bill of Fare, and to eat in private. And his eating being usually agreeable to his Exercise, this Abstemiousness was in no wise displeasing, his Temperance preserving his Health, as in these two last Years of his Life and Reign he kept in perfect Health, without any Indisposition, or recourse to Physick; so as in all probability, had not his Thread of Life been immaturally cut, he might have surpassed the Age of any of his Royal Ancestors.

Upon *Friday* the 19th of *January* 1648. his Majesty was removed from *St. James's* to *White-Hall*, and lodged in his usual Bed-Chamber; after which a Guard of Musqueteers were placed, and Centinels at the Door of his Chamber; thenceforth *Mr. Herbert* (who constantly lay in the next Room to the King, according to the Duty of his Place) by his Majesty's Order, brought his Pallar into his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, to be nearer his Royal Person, where every Night he rested.

The next day the King was in a Sedan or close Chair, removed from *White-Hall* to Sir *Robert Cotton's* House, near the West-end of *Westminster-Hall*; Guards were made on both sides *King-street*, all along the *Palace-Yard* and *Westminster-Hall*, as his Majesty was from the Garden-door at *White-Hall* carried to *Cotton-House*, none but Mr. *Herbert* going bare by the King; no other of his Majesty's Servants going along *King-street* or *Westminster-Hall*, the Soldiers hindering them. At *Cotton-House* there was a Guard of Partizans, Colonel *Hacker* sometimes, and Colonel *Hunks* other sometimes commanding them. His Majesty being summoned by Colonel *Hacker* to go to the Court that was then in *Westminster-Hall*, where Serjeant *Bradshaw* was President, and seated in a Chair; also about Threescore and Twelve other Persons, Members of the House of Commons, Officers of the Army, and Citizens of *London*, sate upon Benches some Degrees over one another, as Judges; *Hacker*, by Order of the Court (which was erected in the same place where the Judges of the King's-Bench every Term used to hear Causes) brought his Majesty to a Velvet-Chair, opposite to the President; Mr. *Cook*, the Solicitour being plac'd on the King's Right-Hand. I shall pretermit the
Judges

Judges Names, the Formalities of the Court, and the Proceedings there, by way of Charge, as also his Majesty's Replies, in regard all those Particulars have been published at large by sundry Writers; nor indeed was much to be observed, seeing his Majesty, having heard their Allegations, would sometimes smile; and not having his Learned Council to advise with, nor other Help, he would not acknowledge their Jurisdiction, or that by any known Law they had any Authority to proceed in that manner against their King; it being without Example also. Whereupon the Court made no further Proceedings that Day.

His Majesty being return'd to *Cotton-House*, where by *Sir Thomas Cotton*, the Master of the House, and *Mr. Kinnerly* of the Wardrobe, the King's Chamber had the best Accommodation could so suddenly be made. The Soldiers that were upon the Guard were in the next Chamber to the King's. His Majesty commanded *Mr. Herbert* to bring a Pallat, and being laid on the matted Floor, at one side of the King's Bed there slept.

Sunday the 21st of *January*, *Dr. Fuxon*, that good Bishop of *London* had (as his Majesty desired) the liberty to attend the King,
which

which was much to his Comfort, and (as he said) no small refreshing to his Spirit, especially in that his uncomfortable condition. The most part of the Day was spent in Prayer and preaching to the King.

Monday the 22d of January, Col. Hacker brought his Majesty the Second time before the Court, then sitting, as formerly in Westminster-Hall. Now the more noble the Person is, the more heavy is the Spectacle, and enclines generous Hearts to a Sympathy in his Sufferings; here it was otherwise; for so soon as his Majesty came into Westminster-Hall, some Soldiers made a hideous Cry for Justice, Justice; some of the Officers joyning with them. At which uncouth Noise the King seem'd somewhat abash'd, but overcame it with Patience. Sure, to persecute a distressed Soul, and to vex him that is already wounded at the Heart, is the very pitch of Wickedness; yea, the utmost Extremity Malice can do, or Affliction suffer, saith Dr. Andrews, the Learned Bishop of Winchester; in one of his Sermons upon the Passion, preach'd before Queen Elizabeth upon Good-Friday, and here applicable.

As his Majesty returned from the Hall to Cotton-House, a Souldier that was upon the Guard, said aloud, as the King pass'd by,
I
God

God bless you, Sir. The King thank'd him; but an uncivil Officer struck him with his Cane upon the Head; which his Majesty observing, said, *The Punishment exceeded the Offence.* Being come to his Apartment in Cotton-House, he immediately, upon his Knees, went to Prayer. Afterwards he ask'd Mr. Herbert if he heard that Cry of the Soldiers for Justice? Who answer'd, *He did, and marvell'd thereat.* So did not I (said the King) for I am well assur'd the Soldiers bear no Malice to me: The Cry was, no doubt, given by their Officers, for whom the Soldiers would do the like, were there occasion.

His Majesty likewise demanded of him, How many there were that fate in the Court, and who they were? He reply'd, They were upwards of Threescore, some of them Members of the House of Commons, others were Commanders in the Army, and other some Citizens of *London*; some of them he knew, but not all. The King then said, He view'd all of them, but knew not the Faces of above Eight, and those he named.

Tuesday the 23d of *January*, the King was the Third time summon'd, and, as formerly, guarded to the Court; where (as at other times) he persisted in his Judgment, That they

they had no legal Jurisdiction or Authority to proceed after that manner against him. Upon which, the Solicitor began to offer something to the President of the Court, but was interrupted by the King, gently laying his Staff upon the Solicitor's Arm, the Head of which being Silver, happen'd to fall off, which Mr. *Herbert* (who as his Majesty appointed, waited near his Chair) stoop'd to take up; but falling on the contrary side, to which he could not reach, the King took it up himself. This by some was look'd upon as a bad Omen.

The Court sat but a little while that day; the King not varying from his Principle. At his going back to *Cotton-House*, there were many Men and Women, who (not without some Hazard) crowded into the Passage behind the Soldiers, that as his Majesty pass'd, said aloud, *God Almighty preserve your Majesty*. The King return'd them Thanks for their Prayers.

The 27th day of *January*, the President came to the Hall in his Scarlet-Gown. The King had quickly notice the Court was set; and being call'd, he forthwith went; and observing him in his red Gown, by that sign he imagin'd it would be the last Day of their
 I 2 sitting,

sitting, and therefore earnestly press'd the Court, *That although he could not acknowledge their Jurisdiction, for those Reasons he had given, nevertheless desired that he might have a Conference in the Painted-Chamber, with a Committee of Lords and Commons, before the Court proceeded any farther.* Whereupon the President arose, and the Court withdrew; in which Interval the King likewise retired to Cotton-House, where he and Dr. Juxon were private for about an Hour, and then Colonel Hunks gave notice that the Court was set.

The King being seated in the Chair, the President told his Majesty, *That his Motion for a Conference with a Committee of Lords and Commons had been taken into consideration, but would not be granted by the Court, in regard he would not own their Jurisdiction, nor acknowledge them for a lawful Assembly.* Whereupon the King with Vehemency insisted, *That his reasonable Request might be granted; that what he had to offer to a Committee of either House might be consider'd before they proceeded to Sentence.*

His Majesty had the former day moved the President, *That the Grounds and Reasons he had put in writing for his disowning their Authority might be publickly read by their Clerk;*
but

but neither would that Desire of his be granted.

The President then gave Judgment against the King, who at the Presidents pronouncing it, was observ'd to smile, and lift up his Eyes to Heaven; as appealing to the Divine Majesty, the most supreme Judge.

The King, at the rising of the Court, was with a Guard of Halberdiers returned to *White-Hall* in a close Chair, through *King-street*, both sides whereof had a Guard of Foot-Soldiers, who were silent as his Majesty pass'd. But Shop-Stalls and Windows were full of People, many of which shed Tears, and some of them with audible Voices pray'd for the King, who through the Privy-Garden was carried to his Bed-Chamber; whence, after two Hours space, he was removed to *St. James's*. Nothing of the Fear of Death, or Indignities offered, seem'd a Terror, or provok'd him to Impatience, nor utter'd he a reproachful Word reflecting upon any of his Judges (albeit he well knew that some of them had been his Domestick-Servants) or against any Member of the House, or Officer of the Army; so wonderful was his Patience, though his Spirit was great, and might otherwise have expressed his Resent-

ments upon several Occasions. It was a true Christian-Fortitude to have the Mastery of his Passion, and Submission to the Will of God under such Temptations.

The King now bidding farewell to the World, his whole business was a serious Preparation for Death, which opens the Door unto Eternity; in order thereunto, he laid aside all other Thoughts, and spent the remainder of his time in Prayer and other pious Exercises of Devotion, and in conference with that meek and learned Bishop Dr. *Juxon*, who, under God, was a great Support to him in that his afflicted condition; and resolving to sequester himself so, as he might have no Disturbance to his Mind, nor Interruption to his Meditations, he order'd Mr. *Herbert* to excuse it to any that might have the desire to visit him. *I know* (said the King) *my Nephew, the Prince-Elector, will endeavour it, and some other Lords that love me, which I would take in good part, but my time is short and precious, and I am desirous to improve it the best I may in Preparation; I hope they will not take it ill, that none have Access unto me but my Children. The best Office they can do now, is to pray for me.* And it fell out accordingly; for his Electoral-Highness, accompany'd by the Duke of *Richmond*, the Lord Marquis of *Hartford*,

Hartford, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, with some more, having got leave, came to the Bed-Chamber Door, where Mr. *Herbert*, pursuant to the King's Command, acquainted the Prince-Elector, and those Noblemen, with what the King gave him in charge; wherein they acquiesced, and presenting their humble Duty to his Majesty, with their Prayers, they returned with Hearts full of Sorrow, as appear'd by their Faces. The Prince also (then in *Holland*) by the States Ambassadors interceded with the Parliament, and used all possible means with the Army to prevent, or at least for deferring of Execution.

At this time also came to S. *James's* Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Vines*, Mr. *Carryl*, Mr. *Dell*, and some other *London*-Ministers, who presented their Duty to the King, with their humble Desires to pray with him, and perform other Offices of Service, if his Majesty pleas'd to accept of 'em. The King return'd them Thanks for their Love to his Soul, hoping that they, and all other his good Subjects, would, in their Addresses to God, be mindful of him. But in regard he had made choice of Dr. *Fuxon* (whom for many Years he had known to be a pious and learned Divine, and able to administer ghostly Comfort to his Soul, suitable to his present condition)

he would have none other. These Ministers were no sooner gone, but Mr. *John Goodwyn* (Minister in *Coleman-street*) came likewise upon the same account, to tender his Service, which the King also thank'd him for, and dismiss'd him with the like friendly Answer.

Mr. *Herbert* about this time going to the Cockpit near *White-Hall*, where the Earl of *Pembroke's* Lodgings were, he then, as at sundry other times, enquired how his Majesty did, and gave his humble Duty to him, and withal, ask'd him, If his Majesty had the Gold Watch he sent for, and how he liked it. Mr. *Herbert* assured his Lordship, the King had not yet receiv'd it. The Earl fell presently into a Passion, marvelling thereat; being the more troubled, lest his Majesty should think him careless in observing his Commands; and told Mr. *Herbert*, at the King's coming to *St James's*, as he was sitting under the great Elm-Tree, near Sir *Benjamin Ruddier's* Lodge in the Park, seeing a considerable Military-Officer of the Army pass towards *St. James's*, he went to meet him, and demanding of him If he knew his Cousin *Tom Herbert*, that waited on the King? The Officer said, He did, and was going to *St. James's*. The Earl then deliver'd to him the Gold Watch that had the Alarm, desiring him to give it Mr. *Herbert*,

to

to present it to the King. The Officer promised the Earl he would immediately do it. My Lord (said Mr. *Herbert*) I have sundry times seen and pass'd by that Officer since, and do assure your Lordship he hath not deliver'd it me according to your Order and his Promise, nor said any thing to me concerning it, nor has the King it I am certain. The Earl was very angry, and gave the Officer his due Character, and threatned to question him. But such was the Severity of the Times, that it was then judged dangerous to reflect upon such a Person, being a Favourite of the time, so as no notice was taken of it. Nevertheless, Mr. *Herbert* (at the Earl's desire) acquainted his Majesty therewith, who gave the Earl his Thanks, and said, *Ah! Had he not told the Officer it was for me, it would probably have been delivered; he well knew how short a time I could enjoy it.* This Relation is in prosecution of what is formerly mention'd, concerning the Clock or Alarm-Watch his Majesty intended to dispose of, as is declared.

That Evening, Mr. *Seamour* (a Gentleman then attending the Prince of *Wales* in his Bed-Chamber) by Colonel *Hacker's* permission, came to his Majesty's Bed-Chamber Door, desiring to speak with the King from the
Prince

Prince of *Wales*; being admitted, he presented his Majesty with a Letter from his Highness, the Prince of *Wales*, bearing date from the *Hague* the 23d day of *January* -48. (Old Stile). Mr. *Seamour*, at his Entrance, fell into a Passion, having formerly seen his Majesty in a glorious State, and now in a dolorous; and having kiss'd the King's Hand, clasp'd about his Legs, lamentably mourning. *Hacker* came in with the Gentleman and was abash'd. But so soon as his Majesty had read his Son's sorrowing Letter, and heard what his Servant had to say, and imparted to him what his Majesty thought fit in return, the Prince's Servant took his leave, and was no sooner gone, but the King went to his Devotion, Dr. *Fuxon* praying with him, and reading some select Chapters out of sacred Scripture.

That Evening the King took a Ring from his Finger, and gave it Mr. *Herbert*; it had an Emerald set between two Diamonds, and commanded him, as late as it was, to go with it from St. *James's* to a * Lady living then in *Channel-Row*, on the backside of *King-street*, in *Westminster*, and give it her, without saying any thing. The Night was exceeding dark, and Guards set in several

* She was the King's
Laundress, and Wife
to Sir W. Wheeler.

several places, as the House, Garden, Park, Gates near *White-Hall*, *King-street*, and other where.

Nevertheless, getting the Word from Colonel *Tomlinson* (then there, and in all places whereever he was about the King, so civil, both towards his Majesty, and such as attended him, as gain'd him the King's good Opinion; and as an Evidence thereof, gave him his Gold Pick-Tooth-Case, as he was one time walking in the Presence-Chamber) Mr. *Herbert* pass'd currently, though in all places where Centinels were, he was bid Stand, till the Corporals had the Word from him. Being arrived at the Lady's House, he deliver'd her the Ring; *Sir* (said she) *give me leave to shew you the way into the Parlour*, where she desired him to stay till she returned, which in a little time she did, and gave him a little Cabinet which was closed with Three Seals; two of them being the King's Arms, the third was the Figure of a *Roman*; praying him to deliver it to the same Hand that sent the Ring, which was left with her.

The Word secured Mr. *Herbert's* Return unto the King. When the Bishop being but newly gone to his Lodging in *Sir Henry Hen's* House

House near St. *James's* Gate, his Majesty said to Mr. *Herbert*, He should see it open'd in the Morning.

Morning being come, the Bishop was early with the King, and after Prayers his Majesty broke the Seals open, and shew'd them what was contain'd in it; there were Diamonds and Jewels, most part broken Georges and Garters. *You see* (said he) *all the Wealth now in my Power to give my Two Children.* Next day Princess *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Gloucester*, her Brother, came to take their sad Farewel of the King their Father, and to ask his Blessing. This was the 29th of *Jan.* The Princess being the elder, was the most sensible of her Royal Father's Condition, as appear'd by her sorrowful Look and excessive weeping; and her little Brother seeing his Sister weep, he took the like Impression, though, by reason of his tender Age he could not have the like Apprehension. The King rais'd them both from off their Knees; he kiss'd them, gave them his Blessing, and setting them on his Knees, admonish'd them concerning their Duty and Loyal Observance to the Queen their Mother, the Prince that was his Successor, Love to the Duke of *Tork*, and his other Relations. The King then gave them all his Jewels, save the George he wore,
which

which was cut in an Onyx with great Curiosity, and set about with 21 fair Diamonds, and the Reverse set with the like Number; and again kissing his Children, had such pretty and pertinent Answers from them both, as drew Tears of Joy and Love from his Eyes; and then praying God Almighty to bless 'em, he turned about, expressing a tender and fatherly Affection. Most sorrowful was this Parting, the young Princess shedding Tears and crying lamentably, so as mov'd others to Pity, that formerly were hard-hearted; and at opening the Bed-Chamber Door, the King return'd hastily from the Window, and kiss'd 'em and bless'd 'em; so parted.

This Demonstration of a pious Affection exceedingly comforted the King in this his Affliction; so that in a grateful Return he went immediately to Prayer, the good Bishop and Mr. *Herbert* being only present.

It may not be forgotten, that Sir *Henry Herbert*, Kt. Master of the Revels, and Gentleman in Ordinary of his Majesty's Honourable Privy-Chamber (one that cordially lov'd and honour'd the King his Master, and during the War, suffer'd considerably in his Estate by Sequestration and otherwise) meeting Mr. *Herbert* his Kinsman in *St. James's Park*,

Park, first enquir'd how his Majesty did? He then presented his humble Duty to the King, with an assurance that himself and many others of his Majesty's Servants fervently pray'd for him, and requested that his Majesty would please to read the Second Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*; for he would find Comfort in it, aptly suiting his present Condition. Accordingly Mr. *Herbert* soon after acquainted the King therewith, who thank'd Sir *Henry*, and commended him for his excellent Parts, being a good Scholar, Soldier, and an accomplish'd Courtier; and for his many years faithful Service much valu'd by the King, who presently turn'd to the Chapter, and read it with much Satisfaction.

That day the Bishop of *London*, after Prayers, preach'd before the King, his Text was the Second Chapter of the *Romans*, and Sixteenth Verse; the Words are, *At that day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, &c.* inferring from thence, that although God's Judgments be for some time deferred, he will nevertheless proceed to a strict Examination of what is both said and done by every Man; yea, the most hidden things and Imaginations of Men will most certainly be made to appear at the Day of Judgment, when the Lord *Jesus Christ* shall
be

be upon his high Tribunal; all Designs, tho' conceal'd in this Life, shall then be plainly discover'd; he then proceeded to the present sad Occasion, and after that, administred the Sacrament. That day the King eat and drank very sparingly, most part of the day being spent in Prayer and Meditation; it was some hours after Night, e'er Dr. *Fuxon* took leave of the King, who willed him to be early with him the next Morning.

That Night, after which Sentence was pronounc'd in *Westminster-Hall*, Colonel *Hacker* (who then commanded the Guards about the King) would have plac'd two Musqueteers in the King's Bed-Chamber, which his Majesty being acquainted with, he made no Reply, only gave a Sigh; howbeit the good Bishop and Mr. *Herbert*, apprehending the Horreur of it, and Disturbance it would give the King in his Meditations and Preparation for his Departure out of this uncomfortable World; also representing the Barbarousness of such an Act, they never left the Colonel till he reversed his Order by withdrawing these Men.

After the Bishop was gone to his Lodging, the King continu'd reading and praying more than two Hours after. The King commanded
Mr. *Herbert*

Mr. *Herbert* to lie by his Bed-side upon a Pallat, where he took small Rest, that being the last Night his Gracious Sovereign and Master enjoy'd ; but nevertheless the King for Four Hours, or thereabouts, slept soundly, and awaking about Two Hours afore day, he opened his Curtain to call Mr. *Herbert* ; there being a great Cake of Wax set in a Silver Bason, that then, as at all other times, burned all Night ; so that he perceiv'd him somewhat disturb'd in sleep ; but calling him, bad him rise ; *For* (said his Majesty) *I will get up, having a great Work to do this day ;* however he would know why he was so troubled in his sleep ? He reply'd, May it please your Majesty, I was dreaming. I would know your Dream, said the King ; which being told, his Majesty said, *It was remarkable. Herbert, this is my Second Marriage-Day ; I would be as trim to day as may be ; for before Night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus.* He then appointed what Cloaths he would wear ; *Let me have a Shirt on more than ordinary,* said the King, *by reason the season is so sharp as probably may make me shake, which some Observers will imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such Imputation. I fear not Death ! Death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepar'd.*

These,

These, or Words to this effect, his Majesty spoke to Mr. *Herbert*, as he was making ready. Soon after came Dr. *Juxon*, Bishop of *London*, precisely at the time his Majesty the Night before had appointed him. Mr. *Herbert* then falling upon his Knees, humbly beg'd his Majesty's Pardon, if he had at any time been negligent in his Duty, whilst he had the Honour to serve him. The King thereupon gave him his Hand to kiss, having the day before been graciously pleased, under his Royal Hand, to give him a Certificate, expressing, That the said Mr. *Herbert* was not impos'd upon him, but by his Majesty made choice of to attend him in his Bed-Chamber, and had serv'd him with Faithfulness and Loyal Affection. At the same time his Majesty also deliver'd him his Bible, in the Margin whereof he had with his own Hand writ many Annotations and Quotations, and charged him to give it the Prince so soon as he returned; repeating what he had enjoyned the Princess *Elizabeth*, his Daughter, That he would be dutiful and indulgent to the Queen his Mother (to whom his Majesty writ two days before by Mr. *Seymour*) affectionate to his Brothers and Sisters, who also were to be observant and dutiful to him their Sovereign; and for as much as from his Heart he had

K

forgiven

forgiven his Enemies, and in perfect Charity with all Men would leave the World, he had advised the Prince his Son to exceed in Mercy, not in Rigour; and, as to Episcopacy, it was still his Opinion, That it is of Apostolique Institution, and in this Kingdom exercised from the Primitive-Times, and therein, as in all other his Affairs, pray'd God to vouchsafe him, both in reference to Church and State, a pious and a discerning Spirit; and that it was his last and earnest Request, that he would frequently read the Bible, which in all the time of his Affliction had been his best Instructor and Delight,; and to meditate upon what he read; as also such other Books as might improve his Knowledge. He likewise commanded Mr. *Herbert* to give his Son, the Duke of *York*, his large Ring Sun-Dial of Silver, a Jewel his Majesty much valu'd; it was invented and made by Mr. *Delamaine*, an able Mathematician, who projected it, and in a little printed Book shew'd its excellent Use, in resolving many Questions in Arithmetick, and other rare Operations to be wrought by it in the Mathematicks. To the Princess *Elizabeth* Doctor *Andrews's* Sermons (he was Prelate of the most noble Order of the Garter, as he was Bishop of *Winchester*), Archbishop *Laud* against *Fisher* the Jesuit, which Book (the King said) would
ground

ground her against Popery, and Mr. *Hooker's* Ecclesiastical Polity. To the Duke of *Gloucester* King *James's* Works, and Dr. *Hammond's* Practical Catechism. *Cassandra* to the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Lord High-Chamberlain. And his Gold Watch to the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*. All which, as opportunity ſerved, Mr. *Herbert* deliver'd.

His Maſteſty then bade him withdraw; for he was about an Hour in private with the Biſhop; and being call'd in, the Biſhop went to Prayer; and reading alſo the 27th Chapter of the Goſpel of St. *Matthew*, which relateth the Paſſion of our Bleſſed Saviour. The King, after the Service was done, ask'd the Biſhop, *If he had made choice of that Chapter, being ſo applicable to his preſent Condition?* The Biſhop reply'd, *May it please your Gracious Maſteſty, it is the proper Leſſon for the Day, as appears by the Kalendar;* which the King was much affected with, ſo aptly ſerving as a ſeaſonable Preparation for his Death that Day.

So as his Maſteſty, abandoning all Thoughts of earthly Concerns, continu'd in Prayer and Meditation, and concluded with a chearful Submission to the Will and Pleaſure of the Almighty, ſaying, He was ready to reſign himſelf into the Hands of Chriſt Jeſus,

being, with the Kingly Prophet, *shut up in the hands of his enemies*; as is expressed in the 31st Psalm, and the 8th Verse.

Colonel *Hacker* then knock'd easily at the King's Chamber Door. Mr. *Herbert* being within, would not stir to ask who it was; but knocking the second time a little louder, the King bade him go to the Door. He guess'd his Business. So Mr. *Herbert* demanding, Wherefore he knock'd? The Colonel said, He would speak with the King. The King said, *Let him come in.* The Colonel in trembling manner came near, and told his Majesty, It was time to go to *White-Hall*, where he might have some further time to rest. The King bad him go forth, *he would come presently.* Some time his Majesty was private, and afterwards taking the good Bishop by the Hand, looking upon him with a chearful Countenance, he said, *Come, let us go;* and bidding Mr. *Herbert* take with him the silver Clock that hung by the Bed side, said, *Open the Door, Hacker has given us a Second Warning.* Through the Garden the King pass'd into the Park, where making a stand, he ask'd Mr. *Herbert* the Hour of the Day; and taking the Clock into his Hand, gave it him, and bade him keep it in memory of him; which Mr. *Herbert* keeps accordingly.

The

The Park had several Companies of Foot drawn up, who made a Guard on either side as the King passed, and a Guard of Halberdiers in company went, some before, and other some followed ; the Drums beat, and the Noise was so great as one could hardly hear what another spoke.

Upon the King's Right-Hand went the Bishop, and Colonel *Tomlinson* on his left, with whom his Majesty had some Discourse by the way ; Mr. *Herbert* was next the King ; after him the Guards. In this manner went the King through the Park ; and coming to the Stair, the King passed along the Galleries unto his Bed-Chamber, where, after a little Repose, the Bishop went to Prayer ; which being done, his Majesty bid Mr *Herbert* bring him some Bread and Wine, which being brought, the King broke the Manchet, and eat a Mouthful of it, and drank a small Glassful of Claret-Wine, and then was sometime in private with the Bishop, expecting when *Hacker* would the third and last time give warning. Mean time his Majesty told Mr. *Herbert* which Sattin Night-Cap he would use, which being provided, and the King at private Prayer, Mr. *Herbert* address'd himself to the Bishop, and told him, The King had

ordered him to have a White Satin Night-Cap ready, but was not able to endure the sight of that Violence they upon the Scaffold would offer the King. The good Bishop bid him then give him the Cap, and wait at the end of the Banqueting-House, near the Scaffold, to take care of the King's Body; for (said he) that, and his Interment, will be our last Office.

Colonel *Hacker* came soon after to the Bed-Chamber-Door, and gave his last Signal; the Bishop and Mr. *Herbert*, weeping, fell upon their Knees, and the King gave them his Hand to kiss, and help'd the Bishop up, for he was aged.

Colonel *Hacker* attending still at the Chamber-Door, the King took notice of it, and said, *Open the Door*, and bade *Hacker* go, he would follow. A Guard was made all along the Galleries and the Banqueting-House; but behind the Soldiers abundance of Men and Women crowded in, though with some Peril to their Persons, to behold the saddest Sight *England* ever saw. And as his Majesty pass'd by, with a chearful Look, heard them pray for him, the Soldiers not rebuking any of them; by their silence and dejected Faces seeming afflicted rather than insulting. There was

was a Passage broken through the Wall, by which the King pass'd unto the Scaffold; where, after his Majesty had spoken a little, the fatal Stroke was given by a disguised Person.

Mr. *Herbert*, during this, was at the Door lamenting; and the Bishop coming thence with the Royal Corps, which was immediately coffin'd, and cover'd with a black Velvet-Pall; he and Mr. *Herbert* went with it to the Back-Stairs to be embalmed. Mean time they went into the Long-Gallery, where chancing to meet the General, he asked Mr. *Herbert*, how the King did? Which he thought strange (it seems thereby that the General knew not what had passed, being all that Morning (as indeed at other times) using his Power and Interest to have the Execution deferr'd for some days, forbearing his coming among the Officers, and fully resolv'd, with his own Regiment, to prevent the Execution, or have it deferr'd till he could make a Party in the Army to second his Design; but being with the Officers of the Army then at Prayer, or Discourse in Colonel *Harrison's* Apartment (being a Room at the hither end of that Gallery looking towards the Privy-Garden) His Question being answer'd, the General seem'd

much surprized; and walking further in the Gallery, they were met by another great Commander, *Cromwell*, who knew what had so lately passed; for he told them, They should have Orders for the King's Burial speedily.

The Royal Corps being embalmed and coffined, and those wrapt in Lead, and covered with a new Velvet-Pall, was removed to the King's House at St. *James's*, where was great pressing by all sorts of People to see the King, or where he was: A doleful Spectacle! but few had leave to enter and behold it.

Where to bury the King was the last Duty remaining. By some Historians it's said, That the King spoke something to the Bishop concerning his Burial.

Mr. *Herbert*, both before and after the King's Death, was frequently in Company with the Bishop, and affirms, that the Bishop never mentioned any thing to him of the King's naming any place where he would be buried; nor did Mr. *Herbert* (who constantly attended his Majesty, and (after his coming from *Hurst-Castle*) alone in his Bed-Chamber) hear him at any time declare his mind concerning it; nor was it in his Lifetime a proper Question for either of them
to

to ask, albeit they had often-times the opportunity, especially when his Majesty was bequeathing to his Royal Children and Friends what is formerly related. Nor did the Bishop declare any thing concerning the place to Mr. *Herbert*, which doubtless he would, upon Mr. *Herbert*'s pious Care about it, which being duly consider'd, they thought no place more fit to interr the Corps than in King *Henry VII*'s Chappel, at the East end of *Westminster-Abbey*, out of which King's Loins King *Charles* was lineally extracted, and where several Kings and Queens descending from King *Henry VII*. are interred, namely, King *Edward VI*. Queen *Mary*, Queen *Elizabeth*, *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, King *James*, Prince *Henry*, and other Princes of the Royal Stem.

Whereupon, Mr. *Herbert* made his Application to such as were then in power, for leave to bury the King's Body in King *Henry VII*'s Chappel, among his Ancestours; but his Request was deny'd, this Reason being given, That probably it would attract infinite Numbers of People of all sorts thither, to see where the King was buried, which (as the Times then were) was judged unsafe and inconvenient. Mr. *Herbert* acquainting the Bishop therewith, they then resolved to
bury

bury the King's Body in the Royal Chappel of *St. George* within the Castle of *Windsor*, both in regard his Majesty was Sovereign of the most noble Order of the Garter ; and that several Kings, his Ancestors, are there interred, namely, King *Henry VI.* King *Edward IV.* and King *Henry VIII.* It was also a Castle and place his Majesty took great Delight in, as in Discourse he oft times expressed as occasion offered ; and withal, for that the Royal Chappel of *St. George* was, tho' founded by King *Edward III.* rebuilt by King *Edward IV.* with much more Magnificence.

Upon which Considerations Mr. *Herbert* made his Second Address to the Committee of Parliament, who, after some Deliberation, gave him an Order bearing date the 6th of *February* --48. authorizing him and Mr. *Mildmay* to bury the King's Body there, which the Governour was to observe.

Accordingly the Corps was thither carried from *St. James's* in a Hearse covered with black Velvet, drawn by Six Horses also cover'd with black ; after which, Four Coaches followed, two of them covered likewise with black Cloth, in which were about a Dozen Gentlemen and others, most of them being such as had waited on his Majesty at *Carisbrook*.

brook-Castle and other places, since his Majesty's going from *New-Castle*, all of them being in black.

Being come to *Windsor*-Castle, Mr. *Herbert* shew'd the Governour, Col. *Whitchcott*, the Committee's Order for permitting Mr. *Herbert* and Mr. *Mildmay* to bury the late King in any place within *Windsor* Castle they should think meet.

In the first place in order thereto, they carried the King's Body into the Dean's House, which all was hung with black by *Richard Harrison*, and then to his usual Bed-Chamber, which is within the Palace; after which they went into St. *George's*-Chappel to take a view thereof, and of the most fit and honourable place for the Royal Corps to rest in. Having taken a View, they at first thought, that the Tomb-House would be a fit place; it was erected by the magnificent Prelate Cardinal *Woolsey* (much about the same time he built his stately House at *Hampton-Court*, in which Tomb-House he begun a glorious Monument for his Great Master King *Henry VIII.* but this Place, though adjoyning, yet not being within the Royal Chappel, they waved it. For if King *Henry VIII.* were buried there (albeit to that day the place of his burial

was

was unknown to any) yet in regard his Majesty (who was a real Defender of the Faith, and as far from censuring any as might be) would upon occasional Discourse express some Dislike of King *Harry's* Proceedings, in misemploying those vast Revenues the suppressed Abbeyes, Monasteries, and other religious Houses were endowed with, and by demolishing those many stately Structures (which both expressed the Greatness of the Founders, and preserved the Splendour of the Kingdom) might at the Reformation have in some measure been kept up and converted to sundry pious Uses. Upon Consideration thereof, those Gentlemen declin'd it, and pitcht upon the Vault where King *Edward IV.* is interr'd, being in the North-side of the Choire, near the Altar, as formerly remembred, that King being one his late Majesty would many times make honourable mention of, and from whom his Majesty was lineally propagated, which induced Mr. *Herbert* to give order to have that Vault opened, to bury the King's Body near his Ancestor King *Edward IV.* who is interred under a fair large Stone of Tuke, raised within the opposite Arch, having a range of Iron Bars gilt, curiously cut according to Church-work; there is no Sculpture or Inscription, only the Royal Badge painted on the inside of the Arch in several places.

But

But as they were about this Work, some Noblemen came thither, namely the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hartford*, since Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Southampton*, the Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord High-Chamberlain, with Dr. *Fuxon*, Lord Bishop of *London* (Archbishop of *Canterbury* afterwards) who had leave to attend the King's Body to his Grave; and being fit to submit and leave the Choice of the Place of Burial to those great Persons; they in like manner viewing the Tomb-House, and the Choire, one of those Lords beating gently upon the Pavement with his Staff, perceiv'd a hollow sound, and ordering the Stones and Earth thereunder to be removed, discover'd a descent into a Vault, where two Coffins were laid near one another, the one very large of antique form, the other little, suppos'd to contain the Bodies of King *Henry VIII.* and Queen *Jane Seymour*, his Third Wife, and Mother of King *Edward VI.* of whom in the Year 1537. she dyed in childbed; and may be credited; for as Mr. *Brook*, *Tork-Herauld*, in his Catalogue of the Nobility, p. 40. observes, no other of King *Harry's* six Wives was buried at *Windsor*; the Velvet-Palls that were over them seem'd fresh, albeit laid there 130 Years and upwards. The Lords agreeing that the King's Body should there be interr'd (being about the middle of the Choire, over
against

against the Eleventh Stall upon the Sovereigns side) they gave order to have the King's Name, and Year he dyed, cut in Lead, which whilst the Workman was about, the Lords went out, and gave the Sexton order to lock the Chappel-Door, not suffering any to stay till further notice. The Sexton did his best to clear the Chappel; nevertheless (he said) a Foot-Soldier had hid himself so as was not discerned, and being greedy of Prey, got into the Vault, and cut so much of the Velvet-Pall, as he judg'd would hardly be missed, and wimbled a hole into the Coffin that was largest, probably fancying there was something well worth his Adventure. The Sexton, at his opening the Door, espy'd the sacrilegious Person, who being searched, a Bone was also found about him, which, he said, he would haſt a Knife with. The Governour gave him his Reward. But this manifests that a real Body was there, which some that have hard Thoughts of King *Harry*, have scrupled.

The Girdle or Circumscription of Capital Letters in Lead put about the Coffin, had only these Words,

KING CHARLES.

1648.

The

The King's Body was then brought from his Bed-Chamber down into *St. George's Hall*, whence, after a little stay, it was with a slow and solemn Pace (much Sorrow in most Faces discernable) carried by Gentlemen that were of some Quality, and in Mourning, the Lords in like Habits follow'd the Royal Corps. The Governour and several Gentlemen and Officers and Attendants came after.

This is memorable, that at such time as the King's Body was brought out of *S. George's Hall*; the Sky was serene and clear, but presently it began to snow, and fell so fast, as by that time they came to the West-end of the Royal Chappel, the black Velvet-Pall was all white (the colour of Innocency) being thick covered over with Snow. So went the white King to his Grave, in the 48th Year of his Age, and the 22d Year and 10th Month of his Reign. Letting pass *Merlyn's* Prophecies, some make it allude to the white Sattin his Majesty wore, when he was crown'd in *Westminster-Abbey* in the Year 1625. former Kings having on purple Robes at their Coronation. The King's Body being by the Bearers set down near the Place of Burial; the Bishop of *London* stood ready with the Service-Book in his Hands to have performed his

his last Duty to the King his Master, according to the Order or Form for the Burial of the Dead, set forth in the Book of Common-Prayer, which the Lords likewise desired, but would not be suffered by Col. *Whitchcott* the Governour, by reason of the Directory to which (said he) he and others were to be conformable.

This brief Narrative shall conclude with the King's own excellent Expression, *Crowns and Kingdoms are not so valuable as my Honour and Reputation; those must have a Period with my Life, but these survive to a glorious kind of Immortality, when I am dead and gone; a Good Name being the Embalming of Princes, and a sweet Consecrating of them to an Eternity of Love and Gratitude amongst Posterity.*

The

The Copy of a LETTER written to me, Sir William Dugdale, Knight (Garter-Principal King of Arms) by Sir THO. HERBERT, Baronet, the Author of the preceeding Narrative, bearing date at York 3. Novemb. 1681.

Honoured SIR,

“ I Shall now give you all the Satisfac-
 “ tion I can, as to the Reality of his
 “ late Majesty's Burial, in his Royal
 “ Chapel at *Windsor*, of which (as I
 “ perceive by your Letter) his Majesty is
 “ somewhat doubtful, which Scruples proba-
 “ bly arise from some Misinformation.

“ That the Royal Corps was embalmed
 “ and coffin'd in Lead, you find truly re-
 “ lated in my Narrative; I was also assur'd
 “ thereof by Mr. *Trapam*, the Chirurgeon,
 “ who came to me for Linen, which I fur-
 “ nish'd him with, of what was my own,
 “ both Shirts and Sheets, being very fine
 “ Holland. He either would not apply to the

L

“ Com-

“ Commissioners then appointed for the
 “ King's Burial (being Colonel *Harrison*,
 “ *Cornelius Holland*, and others) or was so
 “ delay'd that he apply'd to me ; and accor-
 “ dingly I supply'd him agreeable to a pious
 “ Duty. This Circumstance I mention, as
 “ a Testimony that the Corps was undoubt-
 “ edly coffined, which the Chirurgeon, and
 “ *W. Hammond*, that made the Wood, and
 “ saw the Body laid in the Sheet of Lead,
 “ then averr'd.

“ The Body being removed from *White-*
 “ *Hall* in a Chariot to *St. James's*, there re-
 “ main'd till the 7th of *February*, during
 “ which, it was expos'd to publick View ;
 “ as you find writ by *Sir Richard Baker*, in
 “ his *Chronicle*, pag. 502. printed in the
 “ Year 1660.

“ The Chirurgeon reported, That at the
 “ Body's laying into the Coffin, there came
 “ several to see the King, and would have
 “ given him any Money for Locks of his
 “ Hair, which he refused.

“ In my Narrative I told you, That I
 “ begg'd heartily of the Committee, for
 “ leave to interr the Royal Corps in King
 “ *Henry VII's Chapel* at *Westminster*, but
 “ it

“ it would not be granted. The Reasons
 “ they gave me, you have set down in that
 “ Narrative. Whereupon, I petition’d them
 “ for leave to bury him at *Windsor*, which
 “ was granted, and an Order made the 7th
 “ of *February* 1648. by the Committee ap-
 “ pointed for the interring of the Body of
 “ the King, thereby licencing me and Cap-
 “ tain *Mildmay* to carry his Corps to *Windsor*
 “ (taking along those Gentlemen and Servants
 “ that waited upon the King) and to interr
 “ the Corps in such place as Mr. *Herbert* and
 “ Mr. *Mildmay* should see most convenient;
 “ for Defray of the Charge whereof 200 *l.*
 “ was paid us by Captain *Falconberg* the
 “ 8th of *February* 1648. which Sum falling
 “ short, we had 29 *l.* 5 *s.* more paid by
 “ Colonel *Harrison* the 20th day of *February*;
 “ the Total amounting to 229 *l.* 5 *s.* out of
 “ which was 130 *l.* paid to Seventeen Gen-
 “ tlemen and other inferiour Servants for
 “ Mourning; amongst which was Mr. *Murry*,
 “ who was Coachman to the King; and then
 “ drove the Chariot that had the Hearse;
 “ and for his faithful Service was continu’d
 “ in that place to our Sovereign that now is,
 “ and I think can testifie, That the Royal
 “ Corps was carryed from St. *James’s* to
 “ *Windsor*. I know not whether he be yet
 “ alive.

" Three Pounds were paid Capt. Joyner,
 " for Three Dozen of Torches; 15 s. to
 " some Men for, bearing the Body from the
 " Gate at *Windsor-Castle* to the Bed Cham-
 " ber; 7 l. to *John Harrison*, for removing
 " the Body thrice, and for hanging the Deans
 " Hall with Black 10 s.

" To *Samuel Clarke*, for opening King
 " *Edward IV's* Vault (where we thought
 " to have interr'd the King) and setting it
 " right again——

" Upon the Lord's coming the next day,
 " King *Henry the VIII's* Vault was open'd
 " by *Nicholas Harrison*, for which he had 10 s.
 " 5 s. 6 d. to Widow *Puddifant* and *Isaac* the
 " Sexton, her Man, who had Charge of the
 " Chapel-Door; the rest of the Money was
 " disburs'd for Diet, and to the Gentlemen
 " and Servants to the 16th of *February*, at
 " which time it ceased.

" The Accompt being examin'd and pro-
 " ved, I had a Discharge.

" In this Manuscript I now send you by
 " Mr. *Waller*, I have in the Margin named
 " the inferiour Attendants. I believe Mr *Fire-*
 " brace

“ *brace*, Mr. *Dowset*, and Mr. *Levet*, know
 “ most of them; and if any of them be alive,
 “ I verily think they were Eye-Witnesses of
 “ the late King’s being coffin’d and clos’d in
 “ Lead, when he was remov’d from St. *James’s*
 “ to *Windsor*; and then no Legerdemain was
 “ or could be used to take the Body out of
 “ the Coffin, I can assure you, I being en-
 “ trusted with the Corps sacred.

“ Some of these particulars you may judge
 “ superfluous or impertinent; but I know to
 “ whom I write, a Flower-gatherer, one I
 “ highly honour for your entire Love to the
 “ Memory of that good King.

“ And those that came along with us from
 “ St. *James’s*, and had Mourning given them,
 “ were Persons so quick-sighted and inquisi-
 “ tive, that if the King’s real Body had not
 “ been there, they would have discover’d the
 “ Fallacy. But there was no Whisper, no
 “ word of such a thing amongst any of them,
 “ that I could hear.

“ To evidence the Truth more fully, the
 “ Relation which Doctor *Durell*, the present
 “ Dean of *Windsor*, gave you, is unquestion-
 “ able, proceeding from so worthy a Person,
 “ that the old Sexton of the Royal Chapel

150 *Sir Tho. Herbert's Letter, &c.*

“ affirm'd to him, upon the Question, That
“ the Coffin being brought thither (whilst
“ the King's Name was cutting in Capital Letters, to be put about it) the Plumber, at
“ the desire of one of the Noblemen, that had
“ the Parliament's leave to attend the King's
“ Body to the Grave, opened it, so as they
“ perfectly discerned his Face ; the Sexton
“ likewise seeing it. So as all these put together make a full Proof thereof.

“ I have nothing to add, save that it was
“ not Mrs. *Jane Whormood* to whom I gave
“ the Ring his Majesty sent by me, as you
“ find related in my short Narrative of some
“ Occurrents during the two last Years of the
“ late King's Reign. She was Wife to a Knight,
“ and if it be desired I should give you her
“ Name, I shall satisfy you therein ; mean
“ time, wishing you many happy Days, and
“ Leisure to publish your Collections concerning our famous Cathedral and Collegiate-
“ Churches in this Diocese, am till Death

Your truly affectionate Friend,

and obliged Servant,

THO. HERBERT.

The Relation which Major HUNTINGTON made to me Sir William Dugdale, Kn^t (Garter-Principal King of Arms) in the Month of June, Anno 1679. of sundry Particulars relating to King CHARLES I. of Blessed Memory.

AT such time as the King was brought by *Joyce* (a Cornet of Horse in the Parliament Army) from *Holdenby* (in *Northamptonshire*) notice was first given thereof to General *Fairfax*, by a private Soldier, who rode to him in great haste, he then being with Major *Huntington* alone, near a River side at *Kenton* (not far from *Newmarket* in *Cambridgeshire*) that being the Head-Quarter of the Army, which lay thereabout.

General *Fairfax*, being not a little surpriz'd with the News, by reason he knew not of any Order given for it, seem'd apprehensive, and so expressed, That this Action might again engage them in Blood; whereupon he speedily walked up to Town, where he found

Cromwell (with *Watson* a Scout-Master) alighting from Horseback, being newly return'd from the Parliament, whence he came in the Night with much speed, having the day before assured the House, that in obedience to their Votes for disbanding part of the Army, and sending part into *Ireland*, he had so qualify'd their Jealousies (which were such and so great at that time, as that the Army being rendezvouz'd at *Triplo-Heath*, would march up to *Westminster*, and dissolve them) that some of them said he deserved a Statue of Gold.

Upon this arrival of *Cromwell*, the General and he agreed, that Major *Huntington* should immediately hasten away to the King, to prevent his coming to *New-Market* (which was near at hand) the Army quartering thereabouts ; who forthwith took Horse accordingly, and meeting the King about Two Miles from *Childerly* (accompanied by such of the Lords and Commons as the Parliament had appointed to attend him at *Holdenby*) acquainted them with his Errand, but they declined to meddle therein, by reason his Majesty was taken from under their Charge.

Whereupon, the King taking notice of Major *Huntington's* Discourse with them, called

led to him, and demanding his business, did soon receive a satisfactory Answer. For tho' he found the King much bent to go to *New-Market* (in regard it was one of his own Houses) yet representing to him his Fears of some Disturbance in the Army, and Danger to his Person; as also that his House there was, at present, unfurnished with Provisions necessary for his reception, prevailed with him to go to *Childerly* (the Lady *Cutt's* House) where he found good Entertainment.

Being thus got to *Childerly*, *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* came to him the next day, or the day after, of whom his Majesty enquiring, Whether it was by their, or either of their Authority, that he was thus fetch'd from *Holndenby*; and they both disowning it, he reply'd, That unless you hang up *Joyce*, I will not believe what you say. Being thus at *Childerly*, both *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* made large professions of their Fidelity to him, and that he should have the liberty to go to *New-Market*, which was soon done.

There it was, that *Cromwell* made large Professions, first gave his Majesty hopes of Restoration, and that he would be continually instrumental therein; and as an Earnest thereof, presently gave way, that divers of his own
 trusty

trusty Servants and Chaplains should have leave to come to him, and to serve him in their respective places. All which had been deny'd him, not only by the *Scots*, when he had fled to them from *Oxford*, but by the Parliament (who had bought him of those their dear Brethren) during the whole time he was under their Power, by a strong Guard at *Holdenby*, commanded by Colonel *Greaves*; and accordingly Dr *Sheldon*, Dr *Hammond*, and Dr. *Holdsworth*, his Chaplains, with divers of his Servants, were permitted to come thither (*viz.* to *New-Market*) and to attend him in their respective Places.

After which, ere long, they brought him to *Hampton-Court*, most Men hoping that *Cromwell*, who had the greatest Influence on the Army, out of an intuition of firmly establishing himself and his Family in his Majesty's Favour, and obtaining what Wealth and Honour he desired, would fully restore him and the whole Kingdom to their just Rights.

His Commissary-General, *Ireton*, who had married a Daughter of *Cromwell's*, and had the most Power with him of any Man (as was very well known) being totally averse to that Presbyterian Government, which the then predominant Party in Parliament had resolved

solved to set up, boldly expressing (but in private) so great an Indignation against it, and such an entire Affection to the King, and of an hearty sense of his patient Sufferings and unparallell'd Condescensions, said at *Colebrook*, That rather than his Majesty should continue thus enslav'd by that vile Party, if but Five Men would joyn with him, he would adventure his Life in order to his Redemption; *Cromwell* himself, having for the same Reasons, afterwards at *Putney*, solemnly said, That if Ten Men would but stick to him, he would hazard his Life and Fortune for him upon the same Score; or Words to that effect.

Being thus at *Hampton-Court*, where the like unreasonable and enslaving Propositions were brought to him from the Parliament, as he had received thence when he was at *New-Castle* and *Holdenby*, having no small hopes of his Restauration through the power of *Cromwell*, who had the greatest Influence on the Army, and being well aware, that the predominant Party in Parliament did still aim to establish themselves in a perpetual Dominion; as also, that in order thereto, they did resolve so to garble the Army, according to their own Interest, whereby the present Strength thereof was like to be broke in pieces, and a new Model set up, consisting
of

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of those, who should hold firm to the Covenant. His Majesty plainly foreseeing how destructive this must needs be, not only to himself and his Royal Family, but even to Monarchick-Government, thought fit, in his Answer to those their Proposals, to take care of the Army's Interest, which he then look'd upon as Friends to himself and the Publique,

But before he would absolutely resolve what Answer to make, he call'd Major *Huntington* privately to him, and told him, he must resolve him a short Question he should then ask; which was, Whether he could assure him, that *Cromwell* was the same in his Heart to him, as he had by his Tongue so freely and frequently expressed himself to be. At which Question the Major being not a little stagger'd, and fearing the Danger of an uncertain and an unsafe Answer, intreated Respite till the next day at Noon; which being given him, he went privily by Night to *Cromwell*, whom he found early in the Morning in Bed at *Putney*; and having rais'd him up in his Night-Gown, acquainted him with the occasion of that his coming at such a time.

Whereunto *Cromwell* in brief answered; That he did really and uprightly mean and intend from his Heart to perform the same to his
utmost

utmost, which he had formerly so often profess'd to the King, that he would do; which was the full restoring and establishing him in his just and lawful Rights; imprecating, that neither himself, nor his Wife or Children might ever prosper if he did not restore him, as before he had professed, in case the Army remained an Army; and if not they were bound to fall with him; and that he himself would stand by him, if there were but Ten Men left to stick to him, with most bitter and distastful Reflections upon that rigid Party in Parliament, which by their Presbyterian Principles and Practices, did merely design to enslave him.

But notwithstanding all this, the Major was so cautious, that he conditioned with *Cromwell*, That if any thing should thenceforth happen, which might hinder the accomplishment of this his fair Intention, that the King might have timely notice thereof, to the end that he might endeavour to avoid the Danger.

Which being assented to, he returned to his Majesty, and with a chearful Countenance (not suspecting the contrary of what he had with such seeming Confidence been assured) imparted to him the Substance of what had pass'd betwixt 'em. Where-

Whereupon the King forming his Answer to these Proposals from the Parliament (so brought to him as abovesaid) sent them by *Major Huntington* to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, to be perus'd, with the liberty to add and alter what they should think fit ; which being done by them, and returned to him, he wrote it anew, and sent it to *Westminster*.

But see the horrid Perfidiousness of these grand Impostors (*Cromwell* and *Ireton*) no sooner was this candid and gracious Answer of the King imparted to the House of Commons, but both of them appeared with the highest in their Invectives against it.

The News whereof being forthwith brought to the King, he call'd for *Major Huntington*, and acquainting him therewith, sent him to *Cromwell*, to require a Reason thereof ; whose Answer was, That what he then had said in the House of Commons, was to sound the Depth of those virulent Humours, wherewith the Presbyterians (whom he knew to be no Friends to the King) were possessed.

After which time *Cromwell* never came to his Majesty.

Major *Huntington* therefore observing that *Cromwell* thus declin'd the King, made it his business to observe the Councils of the Army at *Putney*; and finding at length how dangerous they grew in reference to his Majesty, gave private advertisement thereof, to the end he might consider which way best to preserve himself.

Whereupon, resolving to get privately from *Hampton-Court* to the City of *London*, Major *Huntington* undertook to find him out a secure Lodging there; and accordingly leaving him, did prepare such a one: His Majesty determining, that, so soon as he should get safe thither, to let the Major have knowledge thereof.

And now at length, being fully sensible of that he had long feared, which was, that notwithstanding his clear and candid dealing with them in all respects, and that he did so far rely upon them, that he had strictly prohibited all those of his faithful Subjects, which had serv'd him in his Armies, that they should not joyn with the *Scots*, in case they did raise an Army in that Realm, in order to his Restoration, as *Cromwell* then seem'd to suggest (though nothing less would have been the Effects thereof, considering it
was

was founded on the Covenant) he was to expect no better than Destruction and Ruine to himself and his Posterity, and Slavery to all his good Subjects. He caus'd a Boat to be laid by the River side, and upon the 11th of *November*, about the beginning of the Night, went alone from the Privy-Lodgings, through a Door where no Guard stood, into the Park, and so crossing the *Thames*, landed at *Ditton*, where Sir *John Berkeley* (afterwards Lord *Berkeley* of *Shalton*) *John Ashburnham* and Colonel *William Legg* (sometimes Grooms of his Bed-Chamber) were plac'd with Horses.

But so it happen'd, that when the King was gone on shore, and had stay'd some time for them, Mr. *Ashburnham* dissuaded him from going to *London*, and led him into *Hants*; where his Majesty demanding of him, to what place he intended to bring him? He answered into the *Isle of Wight*, whereof Colonel *Hammond* was Governour, in whom Mr. *Ashburnham* seem'd to have no little Confidence.

To which his Majesty reply'd, That he would not adventure himself thither, unless he might have sufficient assurance under the Governour's Hand for his Security from any Danger; and thereupon sent Mr. *Ashburnham*
and

and Sir *John Berkeley* into the Isle to treat with *Hammond* to that purpose ; staying himself with Colonel *Legg* at *Tichfield-Houle* (belonging to the Earl of *Southampton*) till they returned ; but strictly charging them, that they should not let *Hammond* know where he was, unless he would freely give them full Assurance under his hand for his Freedom, and to return when he pleased.

But instead of observing these his Majesty's Directions, they came back and brought *Hammond* with them ; and being come to *Tichfield*, went to the King (then in his Bed-chamber) leaving *Hammond* below ; telling him what they had done.

Whereat the King, being not a little amazed, asked them if they had a Promise under *Hammond's* hand for his Security ? and they replying No, but that he would approve himself a Man of Honour ; he plainly told them, That they had betray'd him, or Words to that purpose, concluding that he was no better than his Prisoner.

Which sharp Resentment of his Condition touched them so near, that they offer'd to kill *Hammond*, and take some other Course for his Majesty's Safety. But to this their vain Proposal

posal the King did utterly refuse to assent, rather chusing to yield up himself a Sacrifice to those blood-thirsty Men, who had resolved his Destruction and Subversion of the Government, than to be guilty of assenting to take away the Life of that one vile Rebel in cold Blood: and thereupon putting himself into the hands of that unworthy Person, was by him kept in no better Condition than a Prisoner; until he was, by his Consent, taken away by the direction of *Cromwell*, and the rest of those bloody Regicides, which brought him to the Block.

Colonel *Huntington* further saith, That *Cromwell* having made such deep Protestations of his purpose to stand firm to the King as aforesaid; whether out of any real Jealousie that the *Scots* might raise an Army to rescue him out of their Hands, unto whom the *English*, which had served his Majesty, might also join themselves, and thereby have the Honour to restore him: or whether it was meerly a subtle Pretence, whereby he might have some Colour to fall off from what he had seemed so cordially to assure the King, in order to beget his Majesty's greater Trust in him, he knew not. But hereupon he saith, That *Cromwell* imploy'd him to sound the King as to his Knowledge or Privy of any such Design; which

which he privately performing, the King did utterly disclaim it; assuring him, If they could prove that any one of his *English* Officers had, by his Authority, confederated with the *Scots* to that purpose, they should conclude him guilty of all that they did so surmise: and that he did only depend on those solemn Promises which *Cromwell* had made unto him, that by his only means and influence upon the Army under his Command, his Restoration (as *Cromwell* had with great Confidence assured) should be accomplished.

And as to the ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, he saith, That after the King was brought to *Hampton-Court*, his Majesty there acquainting him with the Loss of that Book at *Navesby's* Fight, and desiring him to use his Interest to regain it; he did apply himself to General *Fairfax*, and by his means obtained it, it being bound up in a white Vellum Cover; and (as he well remembers) all the Chapters in it were written by the Hand of Sir *Edward Walker*, but much corrected with Interlineations by the King's own Hand, (the Prayers being all written with the King's own Hand) which, he says, he very well knew so to be.

Handwritten text in Arabic script, likely a religious or historical document. The text is written in a cursive style and appears to be a continuous passage.

Handwritten text in Arabic script, continuing the passage from the top section. The text is dense and fills the lower half of the page.

A Narrative made by Mr. EDWARD COOKE, of Higham in the County of Gloucester, who was Colonel of a Regiment under Oliver Cromwell, then call'd Protector, containing certain Passages relating to our late Sovereign King CHARLES the First (of Blessed Memory) which happen'd at Newport in the Isle of Wight, upon the 29th of Novemb. Anno 1648.

THE Evening (between Seven and Eight) the King sent for the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Lindsey*, and Colonel *Edward Cooke* (they being all Three together at the said Duke of *Richmond's* Lodgings) with all speed to attend him, who accordingly hasten'd to the Court; the Two Lords entering into the King's inner Room, whilst the Colonel waited in the outer Room till further Order.

The King acquainted the Lords, That one of his Servants had been sent for by a Person in a kind of disguise, who having informed him, That the Army would that Night seize upon the King, abruptly left him.

The Duke of *Richmond* acquainting the King, that Colonel *Cooke* attended without, was commanded to call him in, whom the King ask'd, Whether he had heard any thing that the Army designed to seize upon him that Night? Who answered, That he did not hear any thing tending towards it; adding, Surely, if he had, he would himself have acquainted the King therewith.

The King having told the Colonel his Reason for that Question, commanded him to find out Major *Rolfe*, and enquire of him, what he knew of it (who was then left as Deputy-Governour, by Colonel *Hammond*) with Directions, that he should always address to the King through the said Colonel, as himself had usually done during the Treaty.

Colonel *Cooke* having received the King's Command, opportunely found Major *Rolfe* in his Chamber, and acquainting him, that the King had sent him to enquire of him,
Whether

Whether the Army design'd to seize on him that Night? He answer'd, Not, as he knew of; adding, You may assure the King from me, that he may rest quietly this Night; for, on my Life, he shall have no Disturbance this Night.

Colonel *Cooke* observing that he plac'd such an Emphasis on those Words, *This Night*, tho' that was all he was commanded by the King to ask, urg'd him further, Whether or not there was really any such Design at all? Who, after a little space, answer'd, It was impossible for him to know the present Purposes of the Army at so great a distance; but that as yet, he had receiv'd no such Orders.

Whereunto Colonel *Cooke* reply'd, But if you shall hereafter, shall I be sure so timely to be made acquainted therewith, as that the King may not be surpriz'd with the Execution of such Orders? To which Request he seemingly condescended, answering, That was but a Respect due to the King.

Colonel *Cooke* thereupon returning to the King, gave him a punctual Account of all these Passages; who, in the mean time, having been informed that a considerable Number of the Army were that Night landed in

the Island, remanded Colonel *Cooke* to Major *Rolfe*, to enquire the truth thereof; who thus answer'd him, That he knew fresh Forces would ere long come over, to relieve those that then pass'd on Duty there; but that as yet, he was not certain of their being landed.

Which Answer Colonel *Cooke* also return'd to the King, giving him an account of all that had pass'd betwixt himself and Major *Rolfe*.

In the short time of whose absence, the King having been informed, that Two Thousand Foot were drawn up about *Carisbrook-Castle*, and being much startled thereat, said, Then sure there must be some extraordinary Design on foot; that such a Body of Men should not only be privately landed, but in such a bitter Night as this is, be expos'd to such Extremity of Weather, the Wind blowing very high, and the Rain falling very fast.

The King therefore expressing a great desire to be satisfied in the truth of this, and doubting that he might not be so clearly dealt with by Major *Rolfe*; Colonel *Cooke* offered his Service to go and see.

But

But the King, reflecting on the Severity of the Weather, refus'd to expose him; yet, considering how important it was to be rightly informed in this particular, the Colonel importun'd the King, (if he could so long dispence with him from his Service) to give him leave to go, knowing no other Expedient for the King's certain Satisfaction, and pressed the Lords to interceed for him therein.

Whereupon, at length, obtaining leave from the King, his Majesty used these gracious Expressions, That, *being young and healthy, he did hope that he would receive no Prejudice by it, and that he might live to requite it,* repeating his desire to know the truth of it.

The Colonel therefore took leave, and having soon got himself and Horse ready (tho' the Night was extraordinary dark) fortunately grop'd out the way, and found out the Castle, which having carefully rounded, and finding no body without, went to the Gate.

Where (having performed the usual Ceremony, of giving the word to the Corporal) he shelter'd himself from the Excess of Rain, that then fell, sending his Desire to the
Governor

Governour (one Captain *Boreman*, a Gentleman of the Island, who commanded a Militia Company there) to come to him, with whom he was well acquainted.

In the mean time, discoursing with the Souldiers, to try what he could get out of them, but found them altogether ignorant, being a Company of the Islanders newly marched in; the two Army Companies, formerly garrisoned there, being drawn out into the Town of *Newport*, probably to double their Guards.

After a long stay, the Messenger returned to Col. *Cooke* with this Excuse, *That the Captain could not conveniently come out to him, but invited him in*; who being entred the Parlour, was surprized at the sight of above a dozen Officers of the Army, most of whose Faces he knew, and after mutual Salutation address'd himself to the Governour, desiring to speak with him; who first ask'd (and obtained) Leave of those Officers; wherefore he question'd him in private, and ask'd him, What he meant by that? The Governour plainly told him, He was no better than their Prisoner in his own Garrison, for they threatned him with immediate Death, if he but so much as whisper'd with any of his own Servants.

The

The Colonel asking him, Whether he could imagine the Cause of all this? he answer'd, That he suppos'd there were some great Designs on foot, but he knew not what they were; adding, He understood that the Captain which commanded the Horse in the Island was in the same Condition, and that his Lieutenant commanded the Troop; but that he knew no Cause for either, unless they were suspected to have too much Duty for the King; which gave the Colonel the opportunity of asking that particular Question, *Whether he knew any thing of the King's being that night to be seized on?* who answered, *That it was not improbable but that might be the Design, tho he knew nothing of it.*

Col. Cooke therefore, having receiv'd as much Light as the Governour could give him, hastned to give the King an account thereof; but at his Return found a great Alteration at Court; Guards not only set round the King's Lodgings, and at every Window, but even within doors also, nay Centinels on the King's very Chamber-door; so that the King was almost suffocated with the Smoak of their Matches.

Which

Which hastned the Colonel to Major *Rolfe*, to complain of the Rudeness of the Soldiers; whom he found in his Bed, it being then near twelve of the Clock.

Having entred his Chamber and made his Apology, he complained thereof; whereunto Major *Rolfe* answered, That he was no way guilty of it, and that the two Companies being late drawn out of the Castle, could not that night have Quarters provided for them, and therefore he had order'd them to double the Guards, not foreseeing that this would happen, but that next day he would redress all things himself, with all due respect to the King, and that he would consult the said Colonel therein; adding, that, in the mean time, he was confident, on the Colonel's Complaint to the Captain of the Guard, he would draw off the Men from being offensive to the King; adding, that, if the Colonel found it needful, he might make use of his Name to the Captain of the Guard. To whom the Colonel making his Application, in his return to the King, so prevailed with him, that those Guards, which were so great an Annoyance to his Majesty, were taken off to a more tolerable distance.

Upon Col. *Cooke's* return to the King, his Majesty made him repeat all the several distinct Passages, which had happened that Night.

These being compared together, and duly considered, by the King, the Duke of *Richmond* and the Earl of *Lindsey* (for the Earl of *Southampton*, being indisposed, was returned before that time to his own Lodgings, and the Marquis of *Hartford* gone to *Netley*) all unanimously concluded, That the Army did design suddenly to seize on the King's Person; which being taken for granted, the next Question was, in this desperate Case, What was most adviseable.

The Lords both agreed for the King's immediate attempting an Escape, as the readiest way to procure a personal Treaty with the Parliament (which the King so much desired) when out of the reach of the Army, than when in their Power.

And by this means the King would also secure his Person, which otherwise might very probably be in danger.

But

But before they could proceed to debate the manner of this Escape, the King prevented it, arguing against the Escape it self. First he urged the great Difficulty, if not Impossibility of accomplishing it. Next, that in case he should miscarry in the Attempt, it would exasperate the Army, and dishearten his Friends. And lastly, if the Army should seize him, they must preserve him for their own sakes; he being convinced, that no Party could secure their own Interest without joining his to it, his Son being out of their reach.

Whercunto the Earl of *Lindsey* thus reply'd, Take heed, Sir, lest you fall into such hands: All will not steer by such Rules of Policy; remember *Hampton-Court*, where your Majesty's Escape was your best Security.

The Duke of *Richmond* added, That as yet he thought an Escape feasible enough; and turning about to Col. *Cooke*, ask'd him how he passed to and fro? who answered, He had the Word. Whereupon the Duke asked him, Whether he believed he could pass him also? he answered, He made no question but he could.

At which the Duke took a Leaguer-Cloak without a Star, and made the Colonel go along with him through all the Guards, and so returned to the King again, to persuade the King's attempting an Escape.

But on the sudden, his Majesty (turning himself from the two Lords who were discoursing with him at the Window, to the Colonel, who was drying himself at the Fire) said, *Ned Cooke, what do you advise in this Case?* who humbly answered, That he suspected his own Judgment too much, to offer any Advice, considering both the greatness of the Danger, and the Person concern'd in it; and that his Majesty having his Privy-Council with him, he humbly besought him to listen to them, considering what they press'd him to. Whereupon, the Lords resum'd their former Discourse, of attempting an Escape.

But the King turning about again, said, *Ned Cooke, I command you to give me your Advice.*

Whereupon, the Colonel begg'd leave, that after he had premis'd some particulars, his Majesty would permit him to ask him a Question. Which his Majesty granted,

Supposed

Supposed (said he) I should not only tell your Majesty, That the Army design'd suddenly to seize your Majesty; but by concurring Circumstances should fully convince you, that it would be so; also, that I have the Word, and Horses ready at hand (they being not far off, in a readiness under the Pent-house); that I had also a Vessel attending me by the Cowes, nay hourly expecting me; my self likewise both ready and desirous to attend your Majesty, and the Darknes of the Night, as it were, suited for the purpose; so that I can foresee no visible Difficulty in the thing; which I suppose, in all its particulars, to be the true state of this present Case: The only now remaining Question is, If so, What will your Majesty resolve to do?

Who, after a small pause, deliver'd this positive Answer, *They have promised me, and I have promised them, and I will not break first.*

The Duke of Richmond pressing the Colonel to speak, he craved leave to argue the Point with the King. His Majesty reply'd, *With all my Heart.*

I presume, Sir, (then said the Colonel) your Majesty intends by these words They and Them, the Parliament, to whom your Majesty made that Promise

Promise you mention; if so, the Scene is now quite changed, the present Apprehension arising from the Army, who have already so far violated the Votes and Promises of the Parliament, as to invade your Majesty's Freedom and Safety, by changing the single Centinel of State at the outward Door, contrary to their declared Promise, into strong Guards on your very Bed-chamber; which, in it self, is no better than a Confinement, and, in all probability, a Forerunner of something worse.

The King replied, however, He would not do any thing that should look like a breaking of his Word; and so bade him and the Earl of *Lindsey* good night, and that he would go and take his Rest too, as long as he could.

Which, Sir, (reply'd Col. Cooke) I fear will not be long.

The King perceiving a great Uneasiness and Disturbance in Col. Cooke, said, *Ned, what troubleth thee? Tell me.*

Who answered, *Sir, to consider the Greatness of your Majesty's Danger, and your Unwillingness to obviate it. To which the King made this Reply, Never let that trouble you, were it greater I would not break my Word to prevent it.*

Sir, said the Colonel, Will your Majesty be pleased but to respite your Resolution, and give me leave to step and call my Lord Southampton? What needs that? replied the King.

Are not those my two Friends? (pointing towards the Duke of Richmond and Earl of Lindsey) I tell you they are my true Friends.

Said the Colonel, Be pleased then to consult them.

Said the King, I have resolved already; go you both to Bed (meaning the Earl of Lindsey and Colonel Cooke, for the Duke of Richmond was then in waiting) and if I have need of you I will send for you. Whereupon both took leave.

But the Duke of Richmond slept after Col. Cooke, to consult with him whether he had best go to Bed that night, or lie in his Cloaths.

Who answer'd, He himself, as wet as he was, would not pull off his; for notwithstanding Major Rolfe's Promise, he feared it would not be long before the King would be disturbed, else the Face of Affairs deceived him.

Where-

Whereupon the Duke asked him, Whether he conceived it best for him to repeat his Opinion to the King? Who answered, With all his heart, and that he would stay in the outward Room, in hopes that might occasion some new Discourse; the Duke, the Earl and the Colonel all concurring, That it was most adviseable for the King to attempt his Escape with the Colonel.

But the Duke soon returned, and told both him and the Earl of *Lindsey* (who staid also) That the King was resolved to go to Bed.

It was then about One a Clock, and tho Col. *Cooke* went not to Bed all that Night; yet all things were carried with such Secrecy and Quiet, that not the least Noise was heard, nor the least Cause of Suspicion given.

But next Morning, just at Break of Day, the King, hearing a great Knocking at his outward Door, sent the Duke of *Richmond* to ask what it meant; who demanding *Who was there?* It was answered, *My Name is Mildmay.* One of those Servants the Parliament had put to the King, and Brother to Sir *Henry*.

The Duke demanded, *What he would have ?* Who answered, *There were some Gentlemen from the Army, very desirous to speak with the King.*

Which Account the Duke gave the King; but the Knocking rather increasing, the King commanded the Duke to let them into the Room. No sooner was this done, but before the King could get from his Bed, those Officers rushed into his Bed-chamber, and abruptly told the King, that they had Orders to remove him.

From whom ? said the King. They reply'd, *From the Army.*

The King then asked, *To what Place ?* *To the Castle,* said they.

The King demanded, *To what Castle ?* Again they answered, *To the Castle.*

The Castle, said the King, *is no Castle.* And added, He was well enough prepared for any Castle ; requiring them to name the Castle.

After a short Whisper together, they said, *Hurst-Castle.*

Indeed

Indeed, said the King, you could not have named a worse.

Whereupon immediately the King called to the Duke of *Richmond*, to send for the Earl of *Lindsey* and Colonel *Cooke*.

At first they scrupled at the Earl of *Lindsey*'s coming; but the King saying, *Why not both, since both lie together.*

Then having whisper'd together, they promised to send for both, but sent for neither.

And tho the Duke of *Richmond* had order'd the King's Breakfast to be hastned, presuming there was little Provision made in that desolate Castle; nevertheless when his Majesty was scarce ready, the Horses being come, they hurry'd him away, permitting only the Duke of *Richmond* to attend him about two miles, and then telling him, He must go no further.

Where he sadly took leave of his Majesty, scarce being permitted to kiss his Majesty's Hand; whose last Words to the Duke were,

Remember me to my Lord of Lindsey, and to Colonel Cooke; and command Colonel Cooke from me, never to forget the Passages of this Night.

Hereupon the Duke of *Richmond* returned directly to the Earl of *Lindsey's* Lodgings (on which a Guard had been set all night, to keep him from the Knowledge of what was doing, at least to confine him from stirring forth, had he received any notice) and surprised both the Earl of *Lindsey* and Col. *Cooke* with the first notice of the King's being carried away, with all its remarkable Circumstances; delivering the King's Command to Colonel *Cooke*, and his Majesty's gracious Remembrances to them both.

After this, the Duke of *Richmond*, Earl of *Lindsey*, and Earl of *Southampton* with his Countess, &c. immediately left the Island, and imbarqued in a Vessel which attended on Colonel *Cooke*, and landed near *Tichfield* (the Earl of *Southampton's* House) where, just at their Landing, they were all seized on by a Party of Colonel *Okey's* Regiment: who, by the Persuasion of Colonel *Cooke*, and his Engagement for their Forth-coming, were all permitted to go to the Earl of *Southampton's* House

House ; where the next Morning, whilst all Passages were ripe in their Memory, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Lindsey*, and Colonel *Cooke* met, and drew up this Narrative, in Obedience to the King's Command.

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The

The Copy of a LETTER to Sir GEORGE LANE, Knight, Secretary to the Duke of Ormond, written by Mr. THOMAS FIREBRACE, Clerk of the Kitchen to his Majesty King CHARLES II. containing a Narrative of certain particulars relating to his Majesty King CHARLES the First, during the time that he attended on his Majesty at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, Anno 1648. which Letter beareth Date at White-Hall, July 21. 1675.

S I R,

YOUR pressing me to give you an Account of the Part I acted, while I was permitted to attend the late King (that Glorious Martyr) in the times of his Sufferings, I know not how to deny, nor how to perform, wanting Abilities to express in such a manner (as I might) what was done, and what my Eyes and Ears were acquainted with; but since you please to command,

mand, I will obey, giving you the Relation so far as I was concerned, and my Capacity and Memory will extend.

I had the Honour to be known to his Majesty by several Services I had done him in the time of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, at *Oxford*, and other places; and being at *New-Castle* when the *Scots* deliver'd his Majesty to the *English*, I did (by his Directions, to the end I might serve him with greater Freedom and less Suspicion of those who had him in custody) make my application to some of the Commissioners, that I might be admitted to attend his Majesty, as one of the Pages of his Bed-Chamber, in which I prevailed.

They presently convey his Majesty to *Holmby*, where they kept him under a Guard, but very few Servants to attend him, especially of such as he could trust, which render'd my Services the more useful to his Majesty.

In this interim, the two great Factions of that time, *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, differ, the latter prevail, and remove his Majesty to *Hampton-Court*, upon pretence of restoring him to his Throne; but having gained their Prey, the King soon after discovers their Fals-
hood,

hood; and that they intended nothing less than what they pretended, looks upon his Life in danger; to preserve which, he put himself upon that Journey, when he left *Hampton-Court* privately, in a dark and rainy Night, about the middle of *November*, and was unfortunately brought to the *Isle of Wight*, whither, I am confident (by what his Majesty several times after said to me) he did not intend to go, but what Fate brought him thither, I could never learn.

So soon as it was publickly known where his Majesty was, having receiv'd a private Letter from him, to hasten to him, and with what Intelligence I could get, after I had acquainted his most faithful Friends about *London* with my going as his Majesty had commanded me, I got leave of the Speaker of the House of Commons, and his Pass, to go (for I had still kept my self out of their Suspicion.) My first Endeavour, after my arrival, was how to give his Majesty an account of Business, and to put into his Hands safely those Letters I had for him (for there were continually Spies upon him). To which purpose, I found out a very convenient and private place in his Bed-Chamber, where I left Papers, of which I gave him an account that Night, by putting a Note into his hand,

as he was preparing to go to bed ; which Paper he found.

And though next Morning, after his retirement at his private Devotions (of which he never failed) I found his Paper in the same place ; by which his Majesty was pleased to express his Satisfaction in what I had done, and what he had receiv'd, and directed the continuance of that place and way for Converse, which we made use of (for we had no better) for many Weeks. I had settled a very good way of Correspondence with his Majesty's Friends at *London*, having Two Men very faithful and unsuspected constantly going and coming, by which means his Majesty never wanted good Intelligence from the Queen, the Prince, and many of his Friends, even in the time when those cursed Votes of No more Address took place ; for I gave him several Dispatches every Week, and convey'd his safely away, not one at any time miscarrying, which was an infinite Blessing of God on my Endeavours.

At length I found Favour in the Eyes of those appointed by Colonel *Hammond* to be Conservators ; whose Office it was, by turns, to wait at the King's Two Doors of his Bed-Chamber by Day, when his Majesty was there,

there, and to lodge there by Night; their Beds being laid close to the Doors; so that they could not open untill the Beds were removed.

The King constantly went into his Bed-Chamber, so soon as he had supped, shutting the Doors to him. I offer'd my Service to one of those Conservators to wait at the Door opening into the Back-Stairs, whilst he went to Supper, I pretending not to sup; which he accepted of; by which means I had freedom of speaking with his Majesty, none being on that side but my self, with which his Majesty was very well pleased, directing me to get that Liberty so often as I could, which I procur'd very frequently.

Then, lest we might be surprized by any one too suddenly rushing into the Bed-Chamber, and so discover the Bed-Chamber Door open (for so it was, that we might hear each other the better) I made a Slit or Chink through the Wall, behind the Hanging, which served as well as the opening of the Door, and was more safe; for upon the least noise, by letting fall the Hanging, all was well. By this means we had opportunity to discourse often; and amongst other things, of several ways for his Majesty's Escape (for his Imprisonment was then intolerable.) A-

Amongst other ways I propos'd his coming out of his Bed-chamber Window ; which he said he could do, there being Room enough.

I told him , I fear'd it was too narrow. He said, he had try'd with his Head, and he was sure, where that would pass the Body would follow ; yet still I doubted, and propos'd a way to make it a little wider , by cutting the Plate the Casement shut to at the bottom, which then might easily have been put by.

He objected, That might make a Discovery, and commanded me to prepare all things else, and that, he was confident, would not impede him.

I had made for this Escape Mr. *Worsely* (now Sir *Edward Worsely*) a very worthy Gentleman, now living in the Island, Mr. *Richard Osburne*, a Gentleman put in by the Parliament to attend the King, and Mr. *John Newland* of *Newport* , who all proved very faithful : And thus we were to proceed ; I should toss something against the Window, which was the Sign to put himself out, and to let himself down by a Cord, which I for that purpose had given him.

Being

Being down and in the dark night, I was to conduct him cross the Court (no Centinel being in the way) to the great Wall of the Castle, where I was to have let him down by a long Cord, a Stick being fastned cross at the end, for him to sit on.

Beyond this Wall was the Counterscarp, which was low; beyond that and quite out of the Castle, waited Mr. *Worsely* and Mr. *Osburne* on Horseback, with a good Horse, Saddle and Pistols, Boots, &c. for the King. They were to help his Majesty from the Counterscarp, which they could easily do from their Horses.

At the Sea-side, in a convenient place, was Mr. *John Newland* with a lusty Boat, which might have carried his Majesty to what part he had thought fit; all things were thus prepared, and every one well instructed in his Part. The King, as he walked, had been often shewed the Place by me, where he was to be let down, and where he was to get over the Counterscarp; which his Majesty well approved of.

In the middle of these Hopes, I gave the Sign at the appointed time. His Majesty put himself forward; but then, too late, found himself mistaken, he sticking fast between his Breast and Shoulders, and not able to get forward or backward; but that, at the instant, before he endeavoured to come out he mistrusted, and ty'd a piece of his Cord to a Bar of the Window within, by means whereof he forced himself back.

Whilst he stuck I heard him groan, but could not come to help him, which (you may imagine) was no small Affliction to me. So soon as he was in again, to let me see (as I had to my Grief heard) the Design was broken, he set a Candle in the Window. If this unfortunate Impediment had not happen'd, his Majesty had then most certainly made a good Escape.

Now I was in pain how to give Notice to those without; which I could find no better way to do, than by flinging Stones from the high Wall, where I should have let down the King, to the place where they staid; which proved effectual, so that they went off, and never any Discovery was made of this.

After

After this, I sent for Files and *Aqua fortis* from *London*, to make the Passage more easie, and to help in other Designs I propos'd; but before we could effect them, a Letter came from *Derby-House* to *Hammond*, to direct him to have a careful Eye on those about the King, for that they discovered there were some that gave him Intelligence.

This was a general Suspicion, but they could point at no body. *Hammond* set his Engines to work, and did pump me; so I heard he did others: but at last he took me into Examination, and when he could make no Discovery, he told me the reason.

I acquainted the King with all Passages, at which he was much troubled; and told me, if they had a Suspicion of me, they would never leave till they had ruined me; and would have had me gone with his Letters to the Prince his Son (now our Sovereign Lord and Master): but I told his Majesty, I was confident they could prove nothing against me, and therefore begg'd I might stay to see the Issue; and that, if the worst happened, they could but put me away, and then I did not doubt but I should be able, some way or other, to serve his Majesty.

After this, *Hammond* sent for me again, and told me he had received other Letters, and that he must dismiss me, as he should do others, but that I might stay, if I would, three or four days.

This I look'd upon as a Trap ; however I accepted of it, but carried my self cautiously. I acquainted the King, and settled such a way of Correspondence, that his Majesty did not want constant Intelligence from his Friends as before ; and had his Dispatches brought carefully to me, and sent them away with the like good Success as formerly, during the whole time I was from him.

In my Absence, another Attempt was made for his Majesty's Escape, by those I had engaged, but it was unhappily discovered in the Execution ; Mr. *Worsely* and Mr. *Osturne* (who waited without as before) fled, by the help of that Boat that was to have carried away his Majesty, and came to me to *London*, where I obscured and preserved them.

When the Treaty was voted, amongst those his Majesty named to attend him, I had the honour to be one ; of which he was pleased to give me notice by a Letter, and commanded
me

me to make haste to him. I no sooner arriv'd, than his Majesty told me, I should attend him as I did before, which was Page of the Bed-chamber, and Clerk of the Kitchin; for that there must be several Diets at the Treaty, and he would have me undertake it, in order to something better he intended for me.

I desired to be excused, as not at all understanding the Employment. He was pleased to tell me, He would instruct me, (which in earnest he did.) Within two or three days I heard that a Gentleman, one of his Majesty's Clerks of the Kitchin, was come to *Newport*, in expectation to wait in his Employment; and then I desired his Majesty that he might wait accordingly, I being unskilful. He was pleased to tell me again, I should undertake it, and that that Gentleman should wait as Clerk Comptroller, as accordingly we did.

The Treaty being begun at *Newport* in the *Isle of Wight*, we did all hope for a happy Conclusion thereof; his Majesty having granted whatever they could ask, saving his Conscience, and the Damnation of his own Soul (which his Majesty once told me he thought they aimed at.) But our Hopes were all blasted, when the Army, thirsting for his Blood, sent a Party into the Island to secure

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him;

him; which was so suddenly and privately done, that there was no notice or appearance of them, until that Night they began their Horrid Tragedy, being the 29th of November, 1648.

The King had commanded me to attend him that night at Eight of the Clock, for a Packet he was preparing for me to send to the Queen; but before that hour I perceived some Soldiers, with Pistols in their hands, busily prying about the House where the King was lodged; this, together with the News of a Party newly arrived, put me into great Apprehensions of the King's Danger. And therefore, not staying till the time his Majesty appointed me, I knock'd at the Bed-chamber Door, which his Majesty had commanded me to do at any time, when I had Business with him, and by such a Knock, which he knew and directed me to use: He presently opened me the Door, and seeing me appear in a great Astonishment, asked me, *What is the Matter?* I answered, *God Almighty preserve your Majesty, for I much fear some dismal Attempt upon your Person:* and told him what I had seen and heard. He was pleased to lay his Hand upon mine, and use these or the like Words.

Firebrace

Firebrace, be not thus affrighted, things will be well; you know Hammond is this day gone for London, and he hath appointed three Deputies in his Absence; these will be trebly diligent, and it may be will set a treble Guard upon me, but I am assured there will be no Danger.

I replied, *Ah! Sir, I much fear you are deceived; for God's sake yet think of your Safety; there is yet a Door of Hope open; the Night is dark, and I can now safely bring you into the Street, and thence conduct you to your old Friend Mr. John Newland, who hath a good Boat always ready, and a good Heart to serve you. Commit your self to the mercy of the Seas, where God will preserve you, and trust not your self in the hands of these merciless Villains, who I fear this Night will murder you.* Which indeed I feared, and therefore was transported in my passionate Expressions; which his Majesty notwithstanding took very well, and used Expressions of great Kindness to me; which I begg'd he would forbear, and yet think of his Safety.

He told me, He did not fear; and that if he did think there was any Danger, he should be cautious of going, in regard of his Word (which I supposed he had passed to Hammond not to stir.) Then he bid me stay, and he

would seal up his Letters, which he had just finished, and give me that Dispatch to send away; which accordingly he did, and I, with a sorrowful Heart, left him.

I had not long been gone before he found the beginning of the sad Effects of my Fears; for those Villains came down and set Guards in all places within and without the House, even in his Bed-chamber. In which posture they continued till Break of day; a little before which time (for with Difficulty I had gotten leave of those Blood-hounds to come into the Bed-chamber, as being a Page thereof, as well as Clerk of the Kitchen) the King said to me, *I know not where these People intend to carry me, and I would willingly eat before I go, therefore get me something to eat:* which I caused the Cooks immediately to do. And coming myself, in half an hour, to tell him it was ready, I met these Wretches leading him down the Stairs to hurry him away, not suffering him to break his Fast.

I kneeled down to kiss his Hand, at which he stopp'd to give me leave so to do; when they thrust him, saying, *Go on, Sir;* and so thrust him up into the Coach, which was set close to the Door.

And then one *Rolfe*, who had before attempted to murder him, impudently (with his Hat on) stept up into the Coach to him; but his Majesty, with great Courage, rose up and thrust him out, saying, *It is not come to that yet, Get you out:* and called up Mr. *Herbert* and Mr. *Harrington*, who at that time waited as Grooms of his Bed-chamber.

Rolfe, thus disappointed, took his Saddle-Horse, which was there ready for his Majesty, and got upon him, and so using insulting Words, rode by the Coach side; in which they carried him to *Tarmouth* in the Island, and from thence by Water to *Hurst-Castle*, and from thence to his Martyrdom. The History whereof is left to Posterity by several worthy hands, which makes me the more admire the reason of your Commands to me in this particular; unless it be yet to aggravate, if possible, the Horrid Actions of those Sons of *Belial*, who reduced that Great, Wise, and Pious King, their Lord and Sovereign, to those Extremities; by depriving him, for many Months together, of any manner of Knowledge, that he had a Friend remaining alive in the World, or that there was any thing in being, except those Vipers, about him; but by the private Intelligence he had by

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the

200 Mr. Hen. Firebrace's, &c.

the Hands of me, so inconsiderable as I am.

I could have added much to what I have said, but think I have sufficiently tired you. I shall only conclude with this, That if I had ten thousand Lives, and had spent them all (as I should willingly have done) to have preserved that great Prince, I had been more than sufficiently recompensed in that last Act of Kindness of his; when the very day before that Horrid Murther was committed upon his sacred Person, he was pleased to remember my Services; and to give particular Charge to that worthy Prelate Dr. *Juxon*, then Bishop of *London*, (for those Reasons) to recommend me to the King his Son, which that good Bishop left in a Testimonial under his Hand, as a Legacy to

S I R,

Whitehall, July 24.

1675.

Your most affectionate

and very humble Servant,

Henry Firebrace.

AN
ANSWER

Sent to the

Ecclesiastical Assembly

AT

L O N D O N,

By the Reverend, Noble, and Learned Man

JOHN DEODATE,

THE

Famous PROFESSOR of Divinity,

And most Vigilant

PASTOR of *Geneva.*

Translated out of Latin into English.

G E N E V A :

Printed for the Good of *Great-Britain.*

1646.

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THE

Translator's Preface

TO THE

Simple seduced READER.

Reader,

MAY the Father of Lights open
 thine Eyes to see over this Stran-
 ger's Shoulders, and by this im-
 partial Perspective, what thou, whilst kept
 down thus low by thy new Masters, and
 through thy Seducers false Mediums, hast
 not hitherto been suffered to perceive, it be-
 ing till now purposely hid from thine Eyes:
 Behold a mere Stranger, that notwithstan-
 ding his manifold Obligations and personal
 Engagements to a contrary Discipline in the
 Church and different Form of Government
 in

in the State; yet, over-rul'd by the manifest Truth and Honesty of the King's Cause, breaks through all those Restraints of his Liberty. (as far as he may) to tell thee thus much plain English Truth. Behold here Geneva's Veneration and full Vindication too, of thine own Mother, the Church of England, as it stood under Episcopacy, traduced here at home by her own Spurious Brood for superstitious, popish, antichristian, and what not? And this Apology directed to the Assembly-Men, in Answer to their Letter, whatever it was. Behold here again a clear Justification of the King villified by his own, for that for which Strangers do admire him; his Clemency, his Inclinations to Peace, his Acts of Grace, &c. Behold here the Root of Gall, that which hath brought forth all these National Mischiefs, the popular Tumults and Conspiracies pointed at here, as the only evident Cause of the King's Divorce from the Parliament. See here by whom poor Ireland was deserted. One thing also thou mayst here take notice of
from

from these Standers by, That the Clergy, in their own proper Sphere, may be as fit, and as honest, and perhaps, in some respects, more able, for the Good Speed of a Treaty, than those that do slight them with utter Preterition. Last of all, Behold here the Loyal and Religious Subject's only Militia, or his own proper Magazine, to wit, the known Laws of the Land; that, and Prayer, and Submission, are the only defensive Weapons allowed here by this Master of Fence. I say no more to thee, save only, that I do heartily pity thee, and therefore I do still pray for thee, and for all thy Fellow Bondmen, That God will bring into the way of Truth all such as have erred and are deceived. Amen.

See Dr. Deodate's
Notes on the Rom.
and elsewhere.

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*Reverend, Godly and Worthy Sirs, our
Dear Brethren and Companions in the
Work of the Lord;*

IF, proportionably to the Grief we have conceived at your Letters (wherein you have expressed the most sad Face of your Affairs) we had but as much Ability, either by our Consolations to assuage your Sorrows, or by our Counsels to ease your Burthens, or by any our Co-operation to help your Extremity; we should think our selves very happy in so well corresponding with your honourable and most loving Compellation of us, and right glad we should be, thus to requite you with our best and effectual good Offices. But alas! as the Scantiness of our Capacity in this kind, so the Ignorance of the more inward Causes of so many Miseries, and chiefly the perplext and dangerous Nature of the Matters now in agitation among you; all these put together strike us quite dumb; we are as Men wholly at a stand, able only (in a kind of silent Astonishment or holy Horror) to admire and to adore that Finger of God, which is now lifted up over you all.

But

But since, being by you so lovingly invited to it, we must needs at last break off our Silence, we are reduced to an extraordinary Suspence both of Minds and of Pens, what to say first or last, or indeed what to say at all.

And now in the end, after long deliberation, lest, as *Job's* Friends, we should transgress by precipitate or unseasonable Discourse; behold our Hearts and Mouths top-full of the Senses and Expressions of our hearty Commiseration our Eyes running down with Tears of Compassion, our Breasts even swoln up with Sighs and Groans at your Calamities. These are they, God is our Witness, that fill up the greatest part of our Private Prayers, of our Publick Devotions, Fastings and Humiliations, in all which we are resolv'd to give the Father of Mercies no Rest, until, your Tranquility being once more ordained in Heaven, God do extend Peace upon Earth unto you all like a River, and the Fulness of his Blessing like an ever-flowing Stream.

Our Affairs, yea, the General Interest of all the Reformed Churches are so closely involved in yours; and so mutually depending thercon, that your Safety once procured, assured us all of our own good Estates. Therefore

fore, especially during this grievous Tempest; which may seem to bring about again the heavy time of the Saints great Primitive Tribulation, we are, in a manner compell'd with trembling Hearts and Lips to pour out our Lamentations into the Ears of our most gracious and heavenly Father, no longer now only preparing to contend by Fire, as he once revealed it in a Vision to his Prophet * *Amos*, but

* *Amos* vii. 4, 5.

already for a long time really contending by Fire indeed; and how then can we forbear from crying out, *O Lord forgive, cease we beseech thee, by whom shall Jacob arise, for he is small, and round about all in a flame by the Fire of thy burning Indignation?* From this our own Watch-Tower un-
touch'd as yet by divine Miracle, we have beheld this furious Conflagration spreading it self all over, we have seen the *Grisoen Italian* Churches utterly defaced, the Gospel in *Bohemia*, its antient Seat, wholly extirpated; the *Palatinate* devoured; the *French* Churches deprived of all human Supports and Refuges, like so many poor little callow Birds, alive indeed but only during pleasure; the *German* Churches almost all over shaken, yea, more than half destroy'd; your own *Ireland* swallowed up with an unexpected Deluge of Assassines and Robbers, one only thing was

wanting to that huge heap of publick Calamity, namely, that flourishing *England*, the very Eye and Excellency of all the Churches, Christ's own Choice, Purchase, and Peculiar, the Sanctuary of the afflicted, the Arsenal of the faint-hearted, the Magazine of the needy,

* This is a very large Testimony of the flourishing Estate of the Church of *England*, as it stood under its episcopal Government.

the Royal Standard of good Hope, * should by so unlook'd for an Accident, without any external Enemy or foreign Impression become in a manner its own *Felo de se*, and make an end of it self with its own cruel Hands. What a sad Spectacle is this, to see that Church thus trodden under foot? To see that glorious Fold of our Lord thus ransack'd, yea, worried, not by the wild Beasts of the Forest, not torn in pieces by the mercyleless Paws of the Lyon or of the Wolf, but utterly dismembred by its own unnatural Sheep, enraged and exasperated one against another. An horrid Example this, and till now never heard of among the reformed Churches. It seems heretofore, like Christ's own true Sheep, they were kept tame by the Fear of God united by the same Bond of Faith, knit together by the apprehension of the common Enemy, and so long they did both express and exercise holily and faithfully their mutual Charity, Quiet, and Unity

among

among themselves, in all which they preserved themselves from the Rage of the Wolf; by the Christian-Simplicity of their own good Conditions, by the Innocency of their pious Lives, by the Sanctity of their Religion, by the constant undauntedness of their holy Faith. But now we are wholly struck with Horror at the Change of that so glorious face * of your Church, whilst we hear at this distance the loud report of those deadly Wars that are now flaming up betwixt the King and his People : To see at Daggers drawing indeed Brethren against Brethren, Parents against their own Children, Christ's Sheep pushing against and goring their own Fellows, nay, their own Shepherds. At all this we are utterly amaz'd, and would scarce have believ'd, that in the self-same pitched Field, one and the same God and Father, in the Name of one and the same Mediator, at one and the same time, could be invocated for Help on both sides to shed the Blood of those, that for the major part had hitherto by so many clear Demonstrations in the whole equal course of their Lives, equal in their Piety towards God, equal in their Love and Loyalty towards their Country, approv'd themselves such faithful and true Brethren one to another ; strange ! that

* Still that was under Episcopacy.

these should now against their own Bowels, turn all their warlike Power, far better if imploy'd in the just Punishments of their own treacherous Neighbours, or towards the Relief of their dearest Brethren, so long bowing the Back under the weight of their Bondage, and even at the last gasp for help.

What marvel then, if these your cruel Distractions have awakened, yea, divided even to a Variety, the Judgments and Affections too of Christendom? Neither do we our selves deny, but that for a while we did somewhat stagger at, and, as it were, fluctuate about it; yet that Demur of ours did neither proceed from Prejudice against, nor from Partiality towards either side, as not being call'd upon by either, neither publicly nor privately, till now of late in your Reference to us, which we do reckon as no small piece of Honour, since in your Esteem our Judgment may seem of so much weight, as be able to advance or balance down either Party, both being of such extraordinary Quality.

We have contain'd our selves within the bounds of a conscionable Judgment and impartial Charity towards both Parties; for indeed ye are both Brethren; we have neither way exceeded the compass of our own Measure, but still kept a mean, as rejoycing

on the one hand at those good things which we did hear were entertain'd with the general Applause of all good Men ; so on the other hand, we could not but behold with Grief, those other sinister Passages that in themselves did carry a more fatal appearance.

We were overjoy'd at the

† issue of the *Scottish* Troubles, that seem'd at first to

† Without Battel
or Blood-shed.

presage a Combustion not unlike this of yours, and yet far sooner quenched ; for (as by God's own admirable Handiwork, so by the never-enough magnified of your most gracious King, and by the Concord of that wary Nation) that Fire was in time put out, or ever it did burst into a more open Flame. At the first report of these your own Commotions, our Minds were possessed with a good Hope that all past Offences might with the same Promptitude and Facility be forthwith repaired, and all Matters composed : So that what Actions or Councils should appear amiss, might, by the Benignity of the best of Princes, be easily redress'd, and consequently, both Church and Commonwealth, without Noise or Bloodshed, be kept in due order ; in pursuance of all which, we could not but admire the happy and glorious beginnings of the Parliament, and the more than fatherly

Affection of his most Gracious Majesty, evidenced by his enacting those Laws from which, for the time to come, there was a clear hope of a Government full of Equity, and freed from all Corruption; an Example not so rare, as indeed singular, in this our wild Generation, so fertile of violent Power and Princes. But all these our goodly Hopes were soon blasted by that raging Storm and Tempest of popular Tumults among you, that did force away both your most Gracious Prince from his Parliament, as also a great part of the Parliament from it self; since which we have heard indeed of many Attempts and Enterprises, many Propositions and Projects, but all of them come to nothing, nothing is yet brought to perfection, nothing is yet rightly settled or established.

The business of the Church might seem the chief Object of your Care and Solitude. If it had been handled and debated at times, and with Minds calm and quiet, had the opposite Judgments been compar'd and impartially weigh'd one with another, such an orderly Course might happily have purchased a lasting Peace to your Kingdom, and also rendred unto your Church, that most desired primitive Face of the Apo-

* Such was Epi-
scopacy in its first

apostolical Vigour of Discipline and Government, the which as at the Synod of *Dort*, this very Man did both acknowledge

to Bishop *Carlton*, to be the best Form of Church-Government, and also did heartily wish for it in his own Church. So doth he sufficiently commend the happy Effects of it above, *pag. 6.* in that full Passage of his containing the superlative Praises of the former flourishing Estate of the Church of *England*, as before these troubles it stood under Episcopacy. The Restauration of which former good Estate, is again by this Author, at the latter end of this Epistle, *pag. 15.* earnestly wish'd and pray'd for.

how quite contrary the Event hath falln out; for the Minds of both sides being averse from, yea, violently bent one against another, this very matter hath proved the great Rock of Offence, by exasperating the Wound, and tearing it wider and wider, by distracting more and more asunder the Hearts of each Party, distemper'd enough already through former Partiality and Discord of Affections; nay, if the Report be true, these Church-Distractions have opened a wide Gap to so many boisterous and private Spirits, which we hear have assum'd to themselves the most mischievous Title of Independents, than which destructive Sect nothing could more undermine, yea, quite overturn the very Foundation of the Church

Besides all that, we have been extremely griev'd at this, that the Spirit of Division hath so plentifully sown among you his pernicious Tares of Fears and Jealousies; that they have not only fructified, but even over-

grown all over all manner of mutual Trust, in despite of so many Royal Protestations seal'd and bound up with so many most grievous Imprecations. But the very top and height of all our Sorrows on your behalf hath been this, That all that cursed Fuel thus heaped on, is now at last kindled into a bloody War, lengthned on both sides by a multiplication of deadly Feuds; so that during such an universal Combustion, whatever Mens bare words, and never so frequent Protestations otherwise may pretend, yet the Royal Honour, Power, and Dignity, cannot but fall into utter Contempt; and on the contrary, the Licentiousness of the most audacious and lawless cannot but gather strength, and outgrow the other; and then consequently Piety must needs decay, mutual Love and Charity must utterly vanish away, and instead thereof a kind of Savage-Disposition, yea, brutish Rage must needs invade at last the Minds and Manners of the Men of this Generation, who in process of time will no longer look upon the old original Causes that began the War, but rather upon the new mutual Injuries freshly done or received in the very Progress or Prosecution of the War between two Parties divided far more by an odious Difference of reproachful Names, as it were infamous Brands fixed upon each other, than really by

the

the Cause it self. It had been far more easie unto us, and all good Men else, to deliver our Judgments upon your Case, had the major part of either side differed from the other, either in the more essential Points of Religion, or else dissented about the fundamental Laws of the Commonwealth, or had either Party been oppressed * by the other in a direct way of open Persecution, or had there been an Introduction of publick Tyranny against the Laws, through the Baseness and Pusillanimity of the other Party. But as for you, you have abundant cause of Comfort or Security against all these Evils †, since by virtue of your own most just and powerful Laws, those Laws that already have been indifferently agreed upon by the general Consent of all Parties concerned, you may with ease prevent or cut off all those forementioned Evils which in other Kingdoms may seem almost unavoidable; all these Considerations put together, have moved us for a long while seriously to deliberate and advise what might be, at last, the best Expedient

* Woe be to them that first began that War, whose Non-necessity, yea, Injustice, Strangers themselves can so far off so plainly perceive and condemn too.

† To wit, in a fair, quiet, legal, parliamentary way, not in a martial way: Therefore he mentions not at all the Power of Arms, but onely the Power of the Laws.

pedient left to procure an honest and sure Peace among you. Indeed we have been much scandalized, That all the Mediations of several Kingdoms and Provinces in League with you, have been tryed, and used all in vain; howbeit, it came into our Mind to propound this one Medium more, Whether now at last there be yet any hope to obtain from the King's most Gracious Majesty, and from the Parliament, that of both sides Ecclesiastical Persons may be chosen of unquestioned Trust and Fame, Proof beyond all Suspicion, to whom this great Business may be committed; namely, that comparing the chief Points now in Controversie, they may chalk out some good way towards an holy Peace. But first these Men, must by God's good Spirit, themselves be dispossest'd of all factious Inclinations, that so they may become fit Umpires and Trustees of the publick Peace, and impartial Ambassadors of Reconciliation between both Parties, and also able and studious too by all their Speeches, Exhortations, and sacred Obtestations, to charm the Hearts that on both sides are so obdurate in War and Bloodshed. This were the ready way, by thus interposing the sacred Censor in the very midst of these publick Flames, to quench all the Heart-burnings: For who knows whether, at the devout
Prayers

Prayers and holy Groans of Persons sacred, thus prostrate at the Foot stool of the heavenly Grace, the divine Power and Glory may not break out once more, and shew forth it self, by moving the Hearts of both Parties to lay down all Hatred and publick Enmities. The only way to procure such sound Counsel on both sides, and to purchase again the precious Blessing of a general Peace, is, especially, when all human Helps fail, to call in the divine Assistance, which no Man did ever try in vain. By these good Means that may be brought to pass (what cannot be hop'd for from Civil War, however the Success prove) that by a voluntary Inclination of Minds, the Wound shall be so fully clos'd up, as that Love and Charity may in time perfectly be recovered.

The good Opinion which you have conceiv'd of us, may suffer us to offer these Considerations unto you. It might be Immodesty in us to prescribe or to advise you any further ; but no Law of Modesty can ever forbid us to wish, and to vow, and to beseech God for you, yea, to appeal unto God, and to adjure you all in his Name.

O then, above all, take a speedy and special care for a sure and sound

Peace, whatever it be *,
* What would this Peace-maker have said, if he had seen or heard of so many Royal reiterated Offers

fers of Peace, wherewith the Sovereign hath, and still doth pursue his stiff-necked Subjects, certainly the more peaceable hath always, amongst good Men, had the reputation of the better side.

'tis to be preferr'd before any civil Broyls. Beware lest the Fortune of War smiling upon you, draw you on, and tempt you to commit your great Affairs to the ambiguous Chance of Victory, than which nothing can happen more deadly, yea, pernicious to the Commonwealth. Rowl away that huge Scandal that lies so heavy upon the whole Christian World, yea, wash and wipe off that foul Stain of black Oppression, charged especially upon the purest Profession of the Gospel, as if still it did in a kind of Antipathy or secret Hatred oppose and oppugn all kingly Power and Supreme Authority, mitigate and assuage the exulcerated and too too much provoked Mind

† This was very good Counsel from a Stranger, had the Subjects had the Grace to follow it

in time ; then had there been an end of the old War, and a happy prevention of a new War, which, except stopt by timely Submission, can portend nothing but the utter national Ruine of Church and State, which God in Mercy avert.

of your King, and do not compel him † to *Pinacles and Precipices*.

Rather bear with some Blemishes and Corruptions, from which no Empire could yet wholly

wholly be free, no not in its most flourishing Estate ; account not those Remedies the best that are abruptly applyed and accumulated, but those rather that being taken in by degrees, may in time, by little and little, go down more easily and digest the better, and so at last obtain a Confirmation. And last of all, by the Bowels and Mercy of Christ, suffer your selves to be intreated, that we may no longer see that Wealth, Power, and Strength, which God hath graciously bestow'd upon you, imploy'd, yea, utterly wasted in the fatal Ruin of your own selves, but rather let it be stretched out to the Relief and Support of so many of your own most afflicted † Brethren, even panning after your own Peace.

† Of Ireland.

May the God of Peace himself hear, accept, and grant these our sincere Devotions ; may God defeat all the Plots, and disappoint all the Machinations of the Devil and of Antichrist ; may the same God restore your Kingdom and your Churches to that high state and pitch of Holiness and of Glory, in which, on the Theatre of the universal Church, they have hitherto excell'd and outshin'd all the * Churches upon Earth.

* This full Testimony of the excellent state of the Church of England

(still as it heretofore stood under Episcopacy) out-speaks all the former ; and to this good Ejaculation from Geneva, no right Protestant-Malignant but will heartily say *Amen*.

As

As for us, take in good part this our plain Sence deliver'd freely unto you, in a brotherly Confidence, and pardon and impute our delay of Answer unto these weighty Reasons. The Report was here very strong, That you were now very fair for a Treaty of Peace; therefore we thought it fit to expect what a Day might bring forth, that so all our Words, and all our Affections too, might overflow with meer Gratulations and full Expressions of our Joys. But sorry we are, that we have yet again been deceived with vain Hopes. And now, that we may speedily recover and enjoy that Happiness, we both wish and pray, with as much Devotion as becomes your dearest Brethren (who glory not a little in your good Esteem of us) that God will pour down upon you his richest Benedictions, together with a large measure of his Wisdom and spiritual Strength. Farewell, and prosper in the Lord.

THE
DECLARATION
OF
Mr. Alexand. Henderson,
Principal MINISTER
OF THE
Word of G O D
A T
EDINBURG,
And Chief Commissioner from the
Kirk of Scotland,
To the
PARLIAMENT and SYNOD
of ENGLAND;
Made upon his Death - Bed.

*For now they say we have no King, because we feared not
the Lord; what should a King do to us? Hosea 10.
The King shall rejoyce in God, and all that swear by him shall
rejoyce in him, and the mouth of them that speak lyes shall
be stopped. Psalm 63.*

Printed Anno Dom. 1648.

WITNESSETH

That the said

DOES

BY

THESE

WORDS

CONFESS

AND

AVOWS

The DECLARATION of
Mr. Alexander Henderson.

WHereas the greatest part of the distemper'd People of these miserable, distracted Kingdoms have been, and are woefully abused and misled with malicious Misinformations against his Sacred Majesty, especially in Point of Religion and moral Wisdom; whereof, I confess with great Grief of Heart, my self to have been (amongst many more of my Coat) none of the least, who out of imaginary Fears and Jealousies were made real Instruments to advance this unnatural War, wherein so much innocent Protestant Blood hath been shed, and so much downright Robbery committed, without fear or shame of Sin, to the Scandal of the true re-form'd Religion, as cannot but draw down heavy Judgments from Heaven upon these infatuated Nations, and more particularly upon us who should have instructed them in the way of Truth, Peace, and Obedience.

I conceived it the Duty of a good Christian, especially one of my Profession, and in the Condition that I lie, expecting God Almighty's Call, not only to acknowledg to the Almerciful God with a humble sincere Remorse of Conscience, the greatness of this Offence, which being done in simplicity of Spirit, I hope, with the Apostle *Paul*, to obtain Mercy, because I did it through Ignorance; but also for the better Satisfaction of all others, to publish this Declaration to the View of the World; to the intent, that all those (especially of the Ministry) who have been deluded with me, may, by God's Grace, and my Example (though a weak and mean Instrument) not only be undeceived themselves, but also stirred up to undeceive others with more Alacrity and Facility, that the Scandal may be remov'd from our Religion and Profession, and the good King restor'd to his just Rights, and truly honour'd and obey'd as God's Anointed and Vicegerent upon Earth, and the poor distressed Subjects freed from those intolerable Burthens and Oppressions which they lie groaning under, and piercing Heaven with their Tears and Cries, and a solid Peace settled both in Kirk and Commonwealth, throughout all his Majesty's Dominions, to the Glory of God and of our Blessed Mediator and Saviour the Lord Christ.

I do therefore declare before God and the World, that since I had the Honour and Happiness to converse and confer with his Majesty, with all sorts of Freedom, especially in Matters of Religion, whether in relation to the Kirk or State (which, like *Hippocrates's* Twins are link'd together) that I found him the most intelligent Man that ever I spoke with; as far beyond my Expression as Expectation, grounded upon the Information that was given me (before I knew him) by such as, I thought, should have known him. I profess, that I was oft-times astonish'd with the Solidity and Quickness of his Reasons and Replies, wondred how he, spending his time so much in Sports and Recreations, could have attained to so great Knowledge; and must confess ingenuously, that I was convinc'd in Conscience, and knew not how to give him any reasonable Satisfaction; yet the Sweetness of his Disposition is such, that whatsoever I said was well taken; I must say that I never met with any Disputant (let be a King, and in matters of so high Concernment) of that mild and calm Temper, which convinc'd me the more, and made me think, that such Wisdom and Moderation could not be without an extraordinary measure of Divine Grace. I had heard much of his Carriage towards the Priests in *Spain*, and that

King *James* told the Duke of *Buckingham*, upon his going thither, *That he durst venture his Son CHARLES with all the Jesuits in the World, he knew him to be so well grounded in the Protestant Religion; but could never believe it before.*

I observed all his Actions, more particularly those of Devotion, which I must truly say, are more than ordinary. I informed myself of others, who had served him from his Infancy, and they all assur'd me, that there was nothing new, or much enlarged, in regard of his Troubles, either in his private or-publick way of Exercise; twice a day constantly, Morning and Evening, for an Hours space in private; twice a day, before Dinner and Supper, in publick; besides Preachings upon *Sundays, Tuesdays*, and other extraordinary times; and no Business, though never so weighty and urgent, can make him forget or neglect this his Tribute and Duty to Almighty God. O that those who sit now at Helm of these weather-beaten Kingdoms, had but one half of his true Piety and Wisdom! I dare say that the poor oppressed Subject should not be plunged into so deep Gulphs of Impiety and Misery without Compassion and Pity; I dare say, if his Advice had been follow'd, all the Blood that is shed, and all the Rapin that is committed, should have been prevented.

If I should speak of his Justice, Magnanimity, Charity, Sobriety, Chastity, Patience, Humility, and of all his both christian and moral Virtues, I should run my self into a Panegyrick, and seem to flatter him to such as do not know him, if the present Condition that I lie in did not exeme me from any suspicion of worldly End, when I expect every hour to be called from all transitory Vanities to eternal Felicity, and the discharging of my Conscience before God and Men, did not oblige me to declare the Truth simply and nakedly, in satisfaction of that which I have done ignorantly, tho' not altogether innocently.

If I should relate what I have receiv'd from good Hands, and partly can witness of my own knowledge, since these unhappy Troubles began, I should enlarge my self into a History. Let these brief Characters suffice; No Man can say, that there is conspicuously any predominant Vice in him; a rare thing in a Man, but far rarer in a King: Never Man saw him passionately angry, or extraordinarily moved, either with Prosperity or Adversity, having had as great Tryals as ever any King had; never Man heard him curse, or given to swearing; never Man heard him complain, or bemoan his Condition in the greatest durance of War and Confinement,

when he was separated from his dearest Confort, and deprived of the Comfort of his innocent Children, the hopefullest Princes that ever were in these ingrate Kingdoms ; when he was denuded of his Counsellours and domestick Servants ; No Man can complain of the Violation of his Wife or Daughters, tho he hath had too many Temptations in the prime of his Age, by the enforced Absence of his Wife, which would be hardly taken by the meanest of his Subjects ; and (which is beyond all Admiration) being stript of all Council and Help of Man, and used so harshly as would have stupify'd any other Man, then did his undaunted Courage and transcendent Wisdom shew it self more clearly, and vindicate him from the Obloquy of former Times, to the Astonishment of his greatest Enemies. I confess, this did so take me, that I could but see the Hand of God in it, and which will render his Name glorious, and (I greatly fear) ours ignominious to all Posterity ; he stands fast to his Grounds, and doth not rise and fall with Success, the brittle Square of humane Actions, and is ever ready to forgive all by-past Injuries to settle a present solid Peace and future Tranquility for the good of his Subjects ; nay, for their Cause he is content to forego so many of his own known undoubted just Rights,

as may stand with ther Sastety, as *Salus populi st suprema lex* ; so, & *si parendum est patri in eo tamen non parendum quo efficitur ut non sit pater.* Seneca.

I confess that I could have wish'd an Establishment of our Presbyterial Government in the Kirk of *England*, for the better Union between them and us, but I find the Constitution of that Kingdom, and Disposition of that Nation so generally opposite, that it is not to be expected ; they are People naturally inclin'd to Freedom, and so bred in Riches and Plenty, that they can hardly be induced to embrace any Discipline that may any ways abridge their Liberty and Pleasures. That which we esteem a godly Kirk-Policy, instituted by the Lord Christ and his Apostles, is no better to them than a kind of Slavery, and some do not stick to call it worse than the *Spanish* Inquisition ; nay, even the greatest part of those who invited us to assist them in it, and sent hither their Commissioners to induce us to enter into a solemn National Covenant for that effect, having served their turn of us to throw down the King and the Prelatical Party, and to possess themselves with the Supreme Government both of Kirk and State, and are now inventing Evasions to be rid of us, and to delude it ; some of them publishing openly in Pulpits

and Print ; that the Sacred Covenant was never intended for the Godly, but only as a Trap to ensnare the Malignants, which cannot but bring heavy Judgments from Heaven, and, I am afraid, make a greater Disunion between these Nations than ever was before; like unto that *Bellum Gallicum quod sexcentis fœderibus compositum, semper renovabatur* (Canon. lib. 3. Chron. in Hæc. 5. Anno Dom. 1118.) with a Deluge of Christian Blood, and almost Ruin of both Parties, or like unto that *Bellum rusticorum in Germania in quo supra centena millia rusticorum occubuerunt* (idem Anno Dom. 1524.) or most of all, both in Manner and Subject, resembling that of *John of Leyden, Muncker, and Kniperdoling* (idem Anno 1534.) which took its Rise from the former, so many different Sects spring up daily more and more amongst them, which all, like *Ephraim and Manasses, Herod and Pilate*, conspire against the Lord's anointed, and the true Protestant Religion.

The City of *London* that was so forward in the beginning of this glorious Reformation, surpasses now *Amsterdam* in number of Sects, and may be compar'd to *Old Rome*, *Quæ cum omnibus penè gentibus dominaretur omnium gentium erroribus serviebat, & magnam sibi videbatur assumpsisse Religionem, quia nullam respuebat falsitatem* (*Leo in Serm. de Petro &*

Paulo

Paulo App.) their Transgressions are like to bring them to that Confusion of the Israelites, when they had no King (*Judges* 21.) Every one did what seem'd good in his own Eyes, because they feared not the Lord, (*Josh.* 10.) they said, What should a King do to us? The young Men presum'd to be wiser than the elder (*Isai* 3.) The viler sort despised the honourable (*Lament. ult.*) and the very Serving-Men rul'd over them.

I profess, when I saw these things so clearly, I could not blame the King to be so backward in giving his assent to the settling of our Presbyterial Discipline in that Kirk, for the great Inconveniencies that might follow thereupon to him and his Posterity, there being so many strong Corporations in that Kingdom to lead on a popular Government; such a Number of People that have neither no, or broken Estates, who are ready to drive on any Alteration, and so weak and powerless a Nobility to hinder it; *Multos dulcedo prædæ, plures res angustæ vel ambigæ domi alios scelerum conscientia stimulabat* (*Corn. Tacit.*)

Let me therefore exhort and conjure you, in the words of a dying Man, and Bowels of our Lord Christ, to stand fast to your Covenant, and not to suffer your selves to be abused with feigned Pretences, and made
wicked

wicked Instruments to wrong the Kirk and the King of their just Rights and Patrimony. Remember the last propheticall words of our first blessed Reformer, that after the subduing of the Papists, foretold us the great Battel remained against manifold Temptations of the Devil, the World, and the Flesh, and especially against the sacrilegious Devourers of the Kirk Rents, which will not be wanting now with Baits cunningly laid upon Golden Hooks, to ensnare the greatest among you both in Kirk and State; but I beseech you, in the Words of our Blessed Saviour, to be wise as Serpents, and mild as Doves; let no worldly Consideration induce you to slide back from the true meaning of our holy Covenant with the all-seeing God, who punished *Saul* in his Sons for the breach even of an unlawful Covenant with the *Gibeonites* (2 *Sam.* xxi.)

Remember the Supplication of the General Assembly at *Edinburg*, given into the Earl of *Traquhair* (Sess. 23. Act. 2.) his Majesty's High Commissioner, the 12th. of *August* 1639. recorded both in the publick Register of our Kirk and Parliament, whereby to obviate Malignant Aspersions (2 *Carol.* Act 5. Sess. 7. Jun. 1640.) that branded us maliciously with an Intention to shake off civil and dutiful Obedience due to Sovereignty (*verbatim ex Registro*) and to diminish the
King's

King's Greatness and Authority. And for clearing of our Loyalty, we in our Names, and in the Names of all the rest of the Subjects and Congregations whom we represent did in all humility represent to his Grace, and the Lords of his Majesty's most Hon. Privy Council, and declare before God and the World, That we never had, nor have any thought of withdrawing our selves from that humble and dutiful Obedience to his Majesty and his Government, which by the Descent, and under the Reign of 107 Kings, is most chearfully acknowledged by us and our Predecessors; and we never had nor have any intention or desire to attempt any thing that may tend to the Dishonour of God, or Diminution of the King's Greatness and Authority; but on the contrary, acknowledging, with all humble Thankfulness, the many recent Favours bestow'd upon us by his Majesty; and that our Quietness, Stability, and Happiness, depends upon the Safety of the King's Majesty's Person, and Maintenance of his Greatness and Royal Authority, who is God's Vicegerent set over us for the Maintenance of Religion and Administration of Justice. We did solemnly swear, not only our mutual Concurrence and Assistance for the Cause of Religion, and to the uttermost of our Power, with our Means and Lives, to stand to the Defence of our
Dread

Dread Sovereign, his Person and Authority, in the Preservation and Defence of the true Religion, Laws and Liberties of this Kirk and Kingdom; but also in every cause which may concern his Majesty's Honour, to concur with our Friends and Followers in quiet manner or in Arms, as we should be required of his Majesty, his Council, or any having his Authority, according to the Laws of this Kingdom, and the Duty of good Subjects.

And though some malignant Spirits wrest maliciously some words of our Covenant, *Art* 3. contrary to the true meaning thereof, as if we intended thereby to restrain our Allegiance, contrary to the Apostles Precept and Nature of our Duty, and make Religion a Back-Door for Rebellion to enter in at; if there be any of the simpler zealous sort that conceive the Sense to be such; or if there be any others that would make use of it for their Politick Ends, we disclaim 'em; and I declare before God and the World, That it was far from the intention of those that contriv'd it, to wrong the King and his Posterity, as the plain Words of that Article in the close do clearly bear, and the aforesaid Supplication doth manifestly declare, their intent being only to have settled a Conformity in Kirk-Government throughout all his Majesty's Dominions, which they conceived would have
strengthened

strengthened his Majesty's Authority, and made him and his Posterity more glorious ; but since we find many invincible Difficulties and intolerable Inconveniences arise, chiefly from those who invited us to enter therein for their Assistance in the Accomplishment thereof in that Kirk, and so clearly that they intend to delude us with vain Glosses and Distinctions, to the Destruction of true Protestant Religion and Monarchical Government, and perceive, to our great Grief, that we have been abused with most false Aspersions against his Majesty, the most religious, prudent, and the best of Kings. I do further declare, before God and the World, that they are guilty of the breach of the sacred Covenant, and that we have discharg'd our Duty thereof (which is only promissory and conditional, as all Oaths *de futuro* are) by endeavouring to effectuate it *quantum in nobis erat*, and that we are absolved *in foro Poli & Soli* of any Oath or Vow contained therein, in so far as concerns the settling of Religion in the Kirk of *England* and *Ireland*; and that we are only bound thereby to preserve the Reformation of Religion in our own Kirk and Kingdom, confirmed by his Sacred Majesty in Parliament, and to restore our native King to his just Rights, Royal Throne and Dignity, in as full and ample a manner as ever any of his
Royal

Royal Predecessors enjoy'd them, and that the Mouths of all Malignants may be stopt, that it may not be said, *Presbytery fetters Monarchy, as Independency destroys it*, who cast up to us the Holy League and Covenant of *France*, as a Pattern on the Mount of ours.

Therefore I exhort and conjure you, again and again, in the Bowels of our Lord Christ, and words of a dying Man, especially my Brethren of the Ministry, as you expect a Blessing from God upon this distressed, distracted Kirk and Kingdom, upon you and your Posterity, as you desire to remove God's heavy Judgments from this miserable Land, the Sword and Pestilence, and what else may follow, which I tremble to think of; to stand fast and firm to this point of your Covenant, which you were bound to before by the Law of God and of this Land, and never suffer your selves by all the gilded Allurements of this World, which will prove bitter and deceitful at last, to relinquish it; stand fast to your native King, most gracious to this Land, far beyond all his Predecessors: none owes greater Obligation to him than the Ministry and Gentry; let not an indelible Character of Ingratitude lie upon us, that may turn to our Ruine. The Protestants of *France*, when they were happy in the free Profession of their Religion, suffered themselves to be abused and
misled

missed by some great ones unto a Rebellion against *Lewis XIII.* their Natural King, which cost many of them their Lives and Estates, and the Loss of all their Hostage Towns, and might have endanger'd their Liberty of Conscience, if the King had not been very gracious unto them. The Templars Pride and Ambition rendred them formidable to all Christian Kings, and made them to be cut off in the twinkling of an Eye. The Jesuits are running headlong to that same height. And our Bishops, not contenting themselves with Moderation, were made Instruments of their own Destruction; as some of our Brethren before, by their Indiscretion, enforced King *James* to set them up: wherefore I beseech you my Brethren of the Ministry, to carry your selves mildly towards all Men (*Tit. 3.*) and obediently towards the King and his subordinate Officers (*Rom. 13.*) Preach Salvation to your Flocks (*1 Pet. 2.*) and meddle not with them that are seditious: keep your selves within the Bounds of our blessed Saviour's Commission (*Prov. 24.*) and do not, as the Bishops did, intrench upon the Civil Magistrate's Authority, that ye may live in Peace and Godliness together, as becomes the Messengers of the Lord Christ, *Non eripit Terrestria qui regna dat Cælestia.*

God of his Mercy grant you all the Spirit of Love and Union, that you may join as one
Man

Man to redeem the Honour of this antient Nation, which lies a bleeding in foreign parts, where it was once so famous for its Valour and Fidelity even to foreign Kings; to redeem it; I say, even with your Lives and Fortunes, according to your solemn Covenant, and the Duty of your Allegiance to your Native King. Consider, I beseech you, your own Interests, besides Honour and Conscience, and never rest untill you have restor'd him fully to his Royal Throne and Dignity; let us, his Native Subjects, be his best Shield and Buckler under God, to defend him from all Enemies, and to transmit his Sceptre to his Posterity, so long as the Sun and Moon endureth; and let our Forces be employ'd for the Restitution of the most Religious and Virtuous Queen of *Böhemia*, and her distressed Children, to their just Inheritance, and for the pulling down of the Antichrist, and enlarging of our Lord Christ's Kingdom throughout all the World.

Cornelius Tacit.

In tanta reipublicæ necessitudine, suspecto Senatus populique Imperio ob certamina Potentium & avaritiam Magistratuum invalido legum auxilio, quæ vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur; omnem potestatem ad unum redire pacis interfuit, non aliud discordantis patriæ remedium quam ut ab uno regeretur.

F I N I S.

The Princely Pelican.

ROYAL RESOLVES

Presented in fundry

Choice Observations

Extracted from

HIS MAJESTY'S

Divine Meditations.

WITH

Satisfactory Reasons to the whole Kingdom, That his Sacred Person was the only Author of them.

Epictet. in Enchirid.

Subditis regere, Regibus subjici! Quid iniquius?

Printed Anno Dom. 1649.

R

TO ALL
Faithful and Loyally-affected
SUBJECTS;

Whose THOUGHTS
ARE

Strangers to Division;

Whose HEARTS
ARE

Zealous Pursuers after Union,

AND A

Peaceful Sovereignty,

TO THIS

Distracted Kingdom.

TO ALL

Members of the Society

SUBJECT

OF THE

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C H A P. VII.

How this Work, so far as he had continued it, came to be taken at Naseby, with other Papers and private Letters of high Concern in his Cabinet; and how recovered.

C H A P. VIII.

Satisfactory Reasons to rectifie their Judgment, and evince their Error, who entitle these his Majesty's Pious Princely Devotions to any other Author.

C H A P. IX.

His Divination of the Miseries that should befall this Kingdom by these Distractions.

THE

T H E

Princely Pelican, &c.

C H A P. I.

His Grounds inducing him to this Work.

UPON the Instancy of sundry Persons of Account and Quality, to whose ample Favours I must ever acknowledge my self highly obliged; having such Influence over me, as no amicable Respects could more endear me; I was induced to return them some satisfactory Reasons concerning divers Particulars, mainly reflecting upon his Majesty's Divine Essays lately published, and, for a Living Memorial of Princely Piety and Devotion, to all Posterities recommended.

Now, their Reason of importuning my Pen to this Task, proceeded from their long Knowledge of me for many years to be a

constant Servant to his Sacred Person ; and to whom (without Arrogance be it spoken) his Majesty was oft times pleased to communicate his private Counsels and Addresses. Neither was the Service I did him (so much out of an integrious and sincere Spirit, I dare avouch) at any time since these unhappy Distractions, prejudicial to the Peace of the Publick, or the unsettling of those high Affairs, which at first sight pretended Safety to the State, and Satisfaction to every Loyal and well-disposed Subject.

Neither indeed (to decline all prejudicate Censures touching his Majesty's gracious Disposition that way) would his Sacred Ear lend the least Attention to any suggesting Instrument of Division ; but with a Pious Aversion or Distaste to such Fomenters, return them a sharp Reproof, tho their Advice might seem never so conducing to the Vindication of his Wrongs, or re-investing him in his own.

This I dare confidently attest for Truth, as one who had remained constantly in my Attendance upon his Majesty's Person, even to the last Man, when we were all expressly enjoined to be removed from our gracious Master ; whose Love to his own was so great, as this Injunction of our Departure from him, estranged us from our personal Attendance, but never from the Memory of his Goodness, nor the

the individual Tye of our Cordial Allegiance. For I dare confidently assert, That this awful Command was so grievous to some of us, as the Sentence of Death had been with more chearfulness received by us, than our Removal from his Presence, whose gracious Aspect operated so powerfully on all our Motions.

Hence you receive the Reasons, whence I was pitch'd upon for this Task ; which I shall no less succinctly than sincerely return to the Honour of my Just Master ; with clear Satisfaction to all such as stand doubtful of the Reality of so Princely and unparallel'd an Author.

First then to the Ground which induced his Grace to this Work ; he expresseth himself in the very first Entrance or Introduction to those his Divine Essays, the Cause of his Remove or Recede from his Parliament : wherein he lays down the Motives of his Departure, with his integrious Desires of all Concurrency with that great Council of State in whatsoever might hold Consistence with the peaceful Government of his Kingdoms ; without the least Intention of intrenching upon the Liberty of the Subjects or imposing any illegal Burthens upon their shoulders. This I have heard him oft-times second with this pathological Expression, *O that my Subjects knew but the Integrity of mine Heart towards them !* But understanding

standing upon what desperate Hazards he run, and how all his Royal Intendments for the Publick were misconstrued; nay, that his own Person could hardly be secure without securing; after sundry private Addresses (to divert more open and dispersing Jealousies) he resolved, having found all his Endeavours and Proposals unsatisfactory, to withdraw himself for a season from his Parliament; hoping by that means to make them his with his Absence and Sweet-temper'd Indulgence; which to his great Grief, as he professed, he could not procure by his Presence. But contrary to his Expectance, this revived that Wound, which he hoped might have been partly, if not perfectly cured: for this Desertion of his two Houses, by the Aggravation of some Incendiaries, whom God forgive, cry'd up his Designs to be nothing less than aiming at a tyrannical government to make his People Slaves, and enrich his Exchequer by his Subjects Ruine; and too many credulous Ears were ready to give Attention to these unjust and injurious Aspersions, receiving for truth whatsoever the Poison of viperous Tongues had maliciously suggested, and (to bring an Odium upon his Sacred Person) publicly dispersed.

Was it not then high time to vindicate his traduced Honour by his Pen, which he could not with Safety do in Person? It was the Maxim
of

of a serious Moralist, who had found by experience, That Innocence summoned before a Seat of Injustice was a sufficient Object for Sufferance: if it were sufficient to accuse, who could be innocent.

This was my Royal Master's Condition; his Breast could not be so transparent as to eye his Integrity, nor his Person without Misprision to plead his own Apology.

Many years Debates, drawn out by the Lines of our cunningest Projectors, had resolved what they meant to do with him: before they acted this fearful and horrid Tragedy upon him. They meant to make him a Glorious King, and so they have made him; but to un-king him first, to discover the Zeal and Allegiance they bore him.

But to omit these, let us give a little more clear Satisfaction to such, whose prejudicate Eyes be not wholly unfiled, touching his moderate Composure and Carriage after his Recess from his Parliament; take a full Survey of his Princely Demeanour, and you will not find any predominant Passion or intemperate Spleen working on him. Tho many odious, scurrilous and treacherous Libels were daily, by an unauthentick Privilege, posted up and published against him; so oft as they came to his Hand, he perused them with a modest Smile, pitying their indiscreet Boldness,

Boldness, for mis-spending their time on such scandalous Subjects.

But I intend to wipe off these (such were his Words) with a Sponge of Truth: it shall be my Task, at spare hours, (and many such it seems my Parliament will admit me) to undeceive my People, and to rectifie their misguided Judgments who are not led away by the Spirit of Error.

These were the Grounds that induced him to this Work, the pursuit whereof, as it conduced highly to the Content of his Mind and inward Peace, in the Penning: so may it render no less Satisfaction to any unprepossess'd Judgment in the Reading.

C H A P. II.

The Conference he had with some of his Intimatest and Apprehensivest Courtiers, touching some particular Passages in that Work.

HAVING entred thus far upon his purposed Task, and in a private Address for the publick Interest, ingenuously laid himself open, how and upon what Grounds he was moved to call the last Parliament; being a Council so useful (as he conceived) for disposing and rectifying the Constitution of a distemper'd State, as he was not more induced thereto by others Advice and Necessity of his Affairs, than his own Choice and Inclination: as one who always thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for his Crown and best pleasing to his People. He was pleased, some few days after he had retired from his Parliament, to communicate his Thoughts, in his Garden at *Theobald's*, to some of his Gentlemen who were nearest to him, and of whose Intimacy and Abilities he stood most confident; how he had set his Hand to Paper to vindicate

vindicate his Innocency in the first place, by shewing the Reasons he had of receding from his Parliament, which he hoped could not chuse but render full Satisfaction to all his Subjects ; unless they were of such a Temper as had pertinaciously asserted a disaffection to his Person : and that not so much as one Line had fallen from his Pen, which with Honour he might not confirm, were it rack'd by never so Rigid or Uncharitable a Construction.

His next Essay, as he told us, he intended should take its discourse from the faithfullest Servant and incomparablest Statesman that any Christian Prince could possibly rely on. *One*, said he, *whom I cannot, without a pious and religious Sorrow, remember ; condemning my self in nothing more , than suffering my Hand to thwart the Resolution of my Heart ; having so expressly delivered my Thoughts and in so publick a manner , as beside my own Conscientious Fears, which incessantly awaken in me the Relation of so ungrateful an Action cannot but, to succeeding times, redound highly to my Dishonour.*

To this a Gentleman of his Privy Chamber, (and one now eminent in the Eye of the Publick) made Answer, That this could not be imputed for an Error of his, but to their Doctrinal Assurance, who maintained the Conveniency of it, and made good his Subscription

scription to it. O! (said he, and this he delivered with a deep Sigh) *but it is not safe for Princes to pin their Faiths upon timing Prelates Sleeves, tho' their Knowledge make them inexcusable of Error; their Future Account shall neither lessen my Guilt, nor salve my Honour.*

Hereto presently reply'd one (whose late Arrest by Death has freed him from encountering with sadder Misfortunes) *Sir, if the Sense of that Action have such strong Influence o'er your Thoughts, that the dispersing thereof abroad may so much accrue to your Dishonour, I should hold it an Act of more Princely Policy in you, rather to close than to lay open such a Wound, as may wound your Fame.*

O no, in no case, Ned, (said his Majesty) *the way to cure Wounds is not to close but discover them, they rankle by being closed before they be cured. As for Princely Policy, I hold none better than Sincere Piety. This it is will only secure him, and subject his outward Affections to the Sovereignty of the inward Man. For my part, this shall be my constant Resolve (and it shall be my daily Prayer that no earthly Object may weaken it in me) that my Sins may be ever before me: for there is such a precious Eye-Salve in a Pious Tear (being properly called the Wine of Angels) as it allays the Distempers of an afflicted Spirit. And truly, Gentlemen, weigh but my present Condition in this Particular, and you cannot chuse*
but

but conclude, that this Balm of Gilead may prove more truly Cordial and Sovereign for me than the best Court-Solace, or Civet Advice, were I in the chearfullest and securest Estate that any worldly Prince can enjoy. Our Scholiasts tell us (and our own Synderisis attests no less) That to sin against ones Conscience, even in matters of Indifferency edifies to Hell, what may we then think of Actions partaking of an high and criminal Nature? The Loss of a Man's Life (said that absolute Commander) cannot be recompenced nor made good by any Benefit or Act of Grace that may be confer'd upon his Survivor. Gentlemen, you may believe it (for out of a deep and impressive Remorse do I speak it) that the Disgusts of our Grand Senate, nor all the injurious Affronts they can put upon me, may in reason so much perplex me, as the least Thought of that inexcusable Wrong I did to my faithful Servant: whose high Abilities, as they were more to be admired than paralleled, so his industrious Service was in civil Thankfulness to endear me, more than ever any Subject (if I may properly speak it) obliged his Sovereign. For his Safety, with whatsoever else was most dear unto him, he engaged for my Improvement; his want of Health, at such time as he lay sick at my Lord of Leicester's, witnessed how much his enfeebled Body had suffered by rough and tempestuous Seas, and intemperate Weather, in his late Irish Passage hither.

All which, with much Chearfulness, he not only encounter'd, but slighted; having arrived here, and left the Coast of Ireland, where he was both feared and loved: was he not afterwards question'd for his Life, even upon those Commands which my Commission enjoin'd him to act upon his Allegiance? And can I retain these less than with a thankful Sorrow, not only to lose a Loyal, Knowing Servant; but to gratifie him with an injunctive Sentence of Death for his Faithful Service? In the sad Recollection of these, I may seriously protest, and with a clear Conscience avouch it, That there is not so much as the least Tincture or Sprinkling of Blood, besides this, that can be deservedly laid on my Soul; tho the Fury of my malicious Enemies causlessly labour to impeach me with one of an higher Nature. But one day it will appear unto the World, that those, who thus guiltlessly accuse me, be the only Incendiaries of a Civil Mischief, Imbroilers of the State, and such seditious Innovators, as their only Design, in their Pursuit after private Ends, will tend to the Ruin of this Kingdom.

In this sort was his Majesty pleased at that time to communicate his Grievs to us, and with that passionate Innocency, as it wrought strongly upon our Attention.

After this he took into his serious Consideration, all such Doubts as might object themselves to his second Thoughts in the divulging
S
that

that Essay touching the Earl of *Strafford*; whether the World might not worthily tax him either of Levity or Pusillanimity in the Survey of that Action. As likewise in his Declaration of the moving Cause of his Recede from the Parliament; whether such Reasons as he alledged would bear weight in the Scale of equal Judgments: which, after due Deliberation, he concluded would not only appear satisfactory to his People, but necessary in his own particular; forasmuch as those Corrupt Members, that had begot a Distemper in the whole Body, strove to lay an Odium upon his Person, for his Desertion of the House without just Cause.

C H A P. III.

His Resolution of proceeding with it, after his serious Debate of those Doubts.

WE know well that Mens Sufferings receive the liveliest Impressions from the Draught or Representative of their Sufferers. It was the Saying of a wise *Greek*, Any Man's Pen but my own is a Stranger to my Pain. In which Sense may that Moral Position in this place hold proper Relation.

He.

He who recommends those Annals or Memorials of his Actions, Sufferings, or Indignities to a succeeding Remembrancer, when his own Abilities may perform that Task, and accomplish the Work in his own time, may be compar'd to an unwise Testator, who leaves large Legacies to be bestowed on such Persons after his death; but the Estate from whence those Legacies should arise, falls into the hands of a prodigal Disposer, who long before those Flowers which were bestowed on the Testator's Corps are withered, has quite forgot the Tenure or Purport of his Will; he finds whatsoever was bequeathed to others, little enough for his own Expence.

Such was the Folly of this Testator, to depend upon the Honesty of a profuse and careless Executor.

These Considerations (questionless) wrought infinitely upon his Majesty. He retained a deep Sense of those insupportable Affronts and Indignities he had suffered; and how even those Persons on whom, since the first beginning of his Reign, he had amply conferr'd his Royal Favours (tho' since paid home in their own Coyn) express themselves most ungratefully bitter in the pursuit of their malicious Designs. Albeit, so tender was he of their Honour, and so hopeful of the future Recognition of their

Allegiance, as his desire was rather to shadow 'em than name 'em.

Howsoever, in this proposed Task, which at spare hours he intended to prosecute, according to the issue of his Proceedings, whether good or bad, he continu'd his Resolution; that Posterity might witness for him, whether his Demeanour merited any such Disesteem as the Assemblies of his two Houses had of him.

Many times, and in some of our hearings, would he expostulate the Grounds of these Distastes, how any of those Grandees, some whereof he had undeservingly advanced to the highest and most commodious Places in his Courts of Judicature, should entertain such Jealousies touching his Person, and why they should proceed with such an over-powering Command, without so much as the least Reflex or loyal Relation to his Prerogative Royal.

Must their plausible Promises (said he) conclude in this, to estrange me from their Counsels by their harsh and uncivil Usage, to bar me from that negative Vote which my Regal Interest may justly exact of them; to brand me with an ignominious Note, of intending to infringe their Privileges; and in a hostile way of surprising their Persons, whose Endeavours (as they pretended) had no other aim than Redress of an abused State.

Is

Is this the way they meant to go, when they told me, They would make me the most glorious Prince that ever reign'd? Well, it shall be my supream Care to rely on his sacred Providence, which I am confident will never fail me; for full of Deceit is the Heart of Man.

The groundless Jealousies of those of the lower Rank, nor the settled Designs of the higher, who have set their Hearts to do Mischief, shall never discourage me from the conscientious Execution of that Regal Office whereto he hath call'd me. He it is in whom I trust, and he it is, under whose Wings I shall be safe, should those Enemies of Peace, who persecute my Soul without a cause, never so subtilly, or maliciously labour to intrap me; for God is good unto Israel, and to all those who walk in Sincerity of Heart before him.

This then shall be my resolve; with a strict and impartial Scrutiny will I examine my Heart, and in the Search of it I will suffer no discomposed Thought to reign over it, but wholly dedicate it to him who gave it; by him Princes rule; may his Rule be my Guide through all my Reign. He deserves not the stile of a Prince, who, amidst the greatest Tryals that Humanity can encounter, submits not himself to the Will of his highest Sovereign; nothing can befall me that may equal those Indignities, which he suffered for me; may all I go about be undone, rather than his Will undone.

In this manner no less fervently than frequently would his Majesty at sett times usually deliver himself, and in his Recollection of these, return to his Study, where he addressed his happy Pen to these pious Devotions.

CHAP. IV.

His Reason of concluding every distinct Section with a Meditation, or devotional Psalmody.

IT has been observed by his Chaplains in Ordinary, and by us too, who, by our Places, were nearer Attendants to his Person, that though his Desires were, to be constantly versed in all Parts of Sacred Writ, yet he took such infinite Comfort in the Psalms of *David*, as he would usually upon Occasion repeat sundry Psalms by Heart, from beginning to ending; and in conclusion thereof, would call to mind that Observation of *St. Augustine* touching that Book; “ In every
“ part of the Scripture I find useful some-
“ thing, but in the Book of *Psalms* I find a
“ Store-House of all things; a rich Store-
“ house of all Spiritual Provision; Cordials
“ for

“ for the afflicted ; Corrosives for the impenitent ; Salves for all Sores ; Cures for all Griefs ; Balms for all Wounds ; Solaces for all Souls, Medicines for all Maladies ; Receipts for all Infirmities. Armed with this divine Furniture, his Majesty, amidst his greatest Tryals (as never Prince grappled with more for Number, nor more grievous for Measure) could with a resolved Patience talk with his Enemy in the Gate ; nay, amidst all those Disgraces and Indignities put upon him, he had learn’d in imitation of that princely prophetic Patient, to possess his Soul in Patience, and to stop his Mouth in the presence of the unrighteous. He frequently reflected upon *David’s* Troubles, and in the Survey of them upon *David’s* Courage and Constancy, how he stuck fast to God’s Promise, and with much spiritual Comfort rely’d on his Providence ; he had found by experience, that the Lord, on whom he depended, was stronger in fighting for him, than all such as fought against him ; he had been young, and now was old, yet did he never see the righteous forsaken, nor their Seed begging their Bread.

This our religious *Josias* duly observ’d ; and in his Sufferings became thankful ; For (said he) if *David*, a Man after God’s own heart, were thus afflicted ; if his Enemies imagined such Mischief against him ; nay, if his fa-

miliar Friends and Acquaintance who fed at his Table, made his Table a Snare to catch him, what might his Soul expect in these evil Days, where Impiety had so far prevailed, as Schisms and Divisions had invaded and imbroyled the Peace of the Church: Rebellion threatned a fearful Massacre to a flourishing State, where Loyalty was held Delinquency; Orthodoxal Divinity, Doctrine of an Apocryphal quality; sincere Devotion, heathenish Superstition; Ornaments of Decency approv'd by Antiquity to beautifie the Sanctuary, ragged Reliques of Pollution, Prophaneness, and Idolatry? What could he (I say) expect ought less than a ruined State, with an unsecured Guard to his own Person? Complains he heard daily, and his Desires were to redress 'em; but, alas! His Desires were in the worst sense interpreted. Those who were principal Actors in these Combustions, suggested to his deluded People, That his Majesty's Pertinacy was the ground of their Misery: How his Desertion of the Council of State, assembled for the Safety and Prosperity of the Publick, with his Attention to corrupt Counsellours, would indanger the whole Kingdom. These, and such Reports, usually came to his Ear, and in their relation wounded his princely compassionate Heart. Mean time his frequent Addresses to his Parliament (and in a Character below himself,

with

with such a woing Mildness and sweet Humility was he indued) witnessed the Desire he had that the House might retain that Opinion of him, as his Intentions towards them justly merited ; and that such right Sense and Understanding might be got amongst them, as all groundless Jealousies might be removed ; and that great Work for which they were assembled, seasonably promoted and accomplished. But when his assiduate Addresses might produce no Fruit, he held Devotion the only Refuge and Anchor-hold to calm the Storm of a troubled Spirit ; which as he many times profest, wrought so heavily upon him, as for divers Nights Sleep was a Stranger to his Eyes. But such was God's Goodness ever to him, as his afflicted Soul was never so much depress'd, but by repairing to those Rivers of divine Comfort, the Psalms of *David*, he became infinitely refresh'd ; so as the Burthen of his Grievs was nothing so heavy as the Solace which that Book afforded him was delightfully stor'd with all spiritual Melody.

This it was, which induc'd his Majesty to end every Meditation with a Psalm ; that as the former lay open to the World his distressed Condition, so by Acknowledgment of God's Mercy and Resignation of his Will to his all-sufficient Mercy, he might return Comfort

fort to his thirsty Soul in the conclusion.

The Repetition or Renewal of our Grievs, though they may in some measure allay the Bitterness of them by a seasonable Discovery and temperate Delivery, yet they necessarily require some precious Balm or sovereign Receipt to cure them: Now what Cure more requisite, than spiritually to converse with one who had drunk of the same Cup, and partak'd deeply of the like Affliction whereof he himself was become a Sharer?

This was his Majesty's Condition; *David's* Parallel for Affliction in every particular, saving only in *Absolom*. Indeed a Rebel sprung from one's Bowels is such a Bowel-Sorrow, as it exceeds all others.

This only excepted, Our late Gracious Sovereign was in nothing inferiour (in the Scale of Affliction) to that Princely Sufferer.

* No wonder if the wounded Heart fly to Dittany, having such Virtue to cure him: Seeing Psalms minister such variety of Spiritual Solace, no marvel if our afflicted King used them.

* And Subjects may be properly said to have relation to their Sovereign, as Children to their Parents; which admitted, it cannot be denied, but his Majesty had many Rebels arising from his own Bowels.

CHAP. V.

The Comfort he conceiv'd in it, and receiv'd from it.

THE wearied Labourer, who has born the Heat of the day, cannot entertain Rest with a more chearful Welcome; the Seabeat Mariner, after he has encountred with surging Waves and impetuous Winds, cannot with more Pleasure strike into his calm and secure Harbour, than an afflicted Soul in communicating her perplext Thoughts to a discreet, compassionate Friend, who is both willing and able to afford her such Counsel as may redound to her Comfort.

It was the Saying of a sage and serious Moralist, “ If a Friend should perform the Office of an affectionate Visitant, in presenting himself to his necessitated Friend, and not relieve him; sick, and apply nothing to him; disconsolate, and not comfort him; such an one might be rather said to mock him, than accommodate him; scorn him, than supply him.

It is handsomly observ'd by one in his Address to his Majesty, That he had in his Three Kingdoms Three Sorts of People ; the *First*, confident and faithful ; the *Second*, diffident and fearful ; the *Third*, indifferent and doubtful ; which he marshals in order, and distinguishes them in this manner.

The *First*, were with him in their Persons, Purſes (or Deſires) and good Wiſhes.

The *Second*, were with him neither in their Purſes, nor good Wiſhes (nor with their Deſires) in their Persons.

The *Third*, were with him in their good Wiſhes, but neither in their Persons, nor Purſes nor Deſires.

His Majesty ſhar'd in the firſt and laſt, in his Introduction to theſe ſable and ſullen Times ; but in the cloſe of his Misfortunes , when the Cup of his Affliction became more fully imbitter'd, he partak'd only in the Second.

Their Diſallegiance had dry'd up the Stream of their Bounty, eſtrang'd their good Wiſhes, and diſingag'd their Persons from any Service that might be conſiſtent to the Aſſiſtance of his Majesty, or preſent the leaſt expreſſive Argument of their Loyalty.

Now in this Deluge of his Sorrows, when he was deprived of all outward Supplies, was it not needful for him to have in ſtore ſome inward Comforts to reſreſh his troubled Spirit ?
and

and these he found plenteously and precious-
 ly treasured in these Divine Ejaculations; which,
 as he many times confessed, breathed to his
 languishing Soul most hope, when least of Hope
 appeared, he found how the Lord, had other
 ways, than only by the Sword or Spear, to re-
 lieve him; he who had power to make a ready
 Passage through the Red Sea for his People;
 at such time when the Enemy was behind
 them, and the Mountains inclosed them, and
 all visible Hopes of Refuge were estranged
 from them: even that God of Hosts (such
 was his Confidence in the Almighty's Provi-
 dence) would deliver him from the hand of
 the wicked Doer; and in his due time (for
 he knew well Man's Extremity to be God's
 Opportunity) make those Bones which he
 had broken to rejoice: his Trust was on the
 Rock of his Salvation, neither did he fear
 what Man could do unto him, so long as the
 Wings of the Holy One overshadowed him.
 "Nay, should he kill me (said he) yet will
 "I trust in him. It is he that made me, his
 "Appointment that anointed me, and whose
 "blessed Protection hath hitherto delivered
 "me. I know he has Mercy in store for him
 "that walks innocently before him: it shall
 "then be my principal Care to have a Cir-
 "cumpect Eye over my ways, that I offend
 "not with my Tongue. And, with a resign-
 "ed

“ ed Will, rather to forego my Crown, than
 “ to forego his Favour, or become his Dis-
 “ honour who bestowed it on me : and which
 “ if it seem pleasing in his Sight (whose Eyes
 “ are upon all the ways of Men) he will con-
 “ tinue to me and my Posterity, against all
 “ the Insults or Assaults of a spiteful Enemy.

“ As for me, I will from the very bottom
 “ of my Heart acknowledge, that it was good
 “ for me that the Lord has humbled me, lest
 “ I should be exalted above measure, and so
 “ perish in my Folly. I have seen it (and
 “ I apply’d it to my self, and found Com-
 “ fort in the Application) how many Children
 “ play’d waggis in the Street, and how one
 “ amongst all the rest was catch’d hold of,
 “ and corrected, the rest untouch’d : and I ga-
 “ ther’d hence, that it was the natural Father
 “ of the Child who took upon him to correct
 “ him, and how his Affection to him caused
 “ this Correction of him. This was my Hea-
 “ venly Father’s Course with me, and I have
 “ kissed the Rod, and he has taken pity of
 “ me.

“ My Resolve then shall be, rather to desire
 “ a Dissolution, than to enjoy the Pleasures of
 “ Sin for a Season. The Wages of Sin is
 “ Death ; by his Assistance then that gave me
 “ a Being, I will play the painful Labourer in
 “ my Calling, that I may receive my Wages
 “ from

“ from my faithful Master in the Evening ;
 “ my Day’s Work small , but my Reward
 “ great.

“ Were I the most miserable divested Prince
 “ that the World could present, in this active
 “ Theater of Earth, that State-Catastrophe
 “ should not so much perplex me , as one
 “ Thought of a prepenfed Rebellion against
 “ him that made me. No better Resolve for
 “ a King (as I have elsewhere exprefs’d)
 “ than to prefer his Conscience before his
 “ Kingdom: such an one may be truly held
 “ more than a Conqueror, having such a con-
 “ tinual Feast within him, as nothing without
 “ him may distemper him : and of such an
 “ absolute Composure as he’s fortified in suf-
 “ fering in any thing saving his Honour.

“ I know well, and you, Gentlemen, who
 “ attend me, will witness so much with me,
 “ that the Indignities and personal Aspersions
 “ thrown upon me, had exceeded the bounds
 “ of humane Suffering, had I not been ena-
 “ bled by his Goodness, and through him
 “ strengthened with such Christian Patience,
 “ as their unprevailing Intendments to pro-
 “ voke me, intraged their Passions more than
 “ they could work upon mine, in being disap-
 “ pointed of that which they most desired, my
 “ Anguish: for in all their fruitless Assays, I
 “ remember’d how *David* counted it his Duty
 “ to

“ to keep his Mouth close, whilst the Wicked
 “ were before him.

“ As also in the Vindication of my own
 “ Wrongs, I held it not only the most pious
 “ but prudentest Christian Stratagem, to sub-
 “ due the Fury of an implacable Enemy, ra-
 “ ther with a pleasing neglectful Smile; or,
 “ as my Condition rather challenged, a Prince-
 “ ly Slighting, than any impatient Opposi-
 “ tion; as Persons below my Esteem, and
 “ consequently unworthy my Hate: Besides, I
 “ consider’d, how Revenge was often more
 “ sinful than the Offence. Why then should
 “ I awaken my Soul to do that which might
 “ disturb the Quiet of it?

“ All this while I was not ignorant how
 “ these Plotters of Mischief did not only
 “ thrust, but thirst sore after my Life to take
 “ it, and with what plausible Principles they
 “ laboured to with-draw the Hearts and Af-
 “ fections of my Subjects:

* Principles in
 use for disalleging
 Subjects.

“ * the Trust of Kingdoms is
 “ put upon them; which, so
 “ long as they faithfully dis-
 “ charge, they are to be honour’d and obey’d;
 “ but once being violated, their Covenants
 “ are broken, and they are no longer Kings:
 “ the Safety of the People is the Supreme
 “ Law: and People were not made for the
 “ Good of Kings, but Kings for the Good of
 “ the People.

These

“ These were working Notions for stirring
 “ Spirits, and Stuff enough for any Hammer
 “ to strike and mould out some Master-piece
 “ or other upon the Anvil of Sedition.

“ Whereas thou, O Lord ! knowest all my
 “ Ways, for my Works are ever before thee ;
 “ thou knowest I wished no greater Advanta-
 “ ges by this War, than to bring my Enemies
 “ to Moderation, and my Friends to Peace.
 “ Thou, I say, knowest right well, that I al-
 “ ways held the Safety of my People essenti-
 “ ally consistent with mine own ; and tho
 “ thou madest me Sovereign over this Land,
 “ yet I never took upon me to sovereignize
 “ over the Law. The Redress of their Wrongs
 “ was my Care ; else I had not with such Free-
 “ dom and Chearfulness assented to a Call of
 “ this present Parliament.

Having discoursed in this sort with much
 Efficacy and pious Devotion, he acquainted us
 what incomparable Comfort he receiv'd from
 that brief Manual which he had in part com-
 posed, and meant to continue it ; not only
 amidst those brackish and distemper'd Sea-
 sons to allay his Discomforts, but to com-
 municate it likewise to such who were jea-
 lous of his Safety, and tender of his Inno-
 cency.

C H A P. VI.

What choice Hours he reserv'd for this Exercise.

IT is written of holy *Lewis*, the *French* King, that he usually bestowed certain Hours of every Day upon distinct Tasks; lest by doing nothing, his Frailty might bring him to do what was worse than nothing.

The Morning he dedicated to Devotion, Reading and Contemplation; the Meridian for his Repast and Nourishment; the Afternoon for Administration of Justice; with some spare Hours, at convenient Seasons, for moderate Recreation, being such as might refresh him, but not too freely seize upon him. In all which Employments, it was his special Care (as is observ'd of him) that his Hand, as a ready Almoner to his Heart, might be ever active in exhibiting Offices of Charity to all such as were in Necessity.

This was a rare princely Precedent, being such a Pattern of Piety as might be more admired than imitated.

The like Example is recommended to us of a devout Father in those primitive Days of the Church, whose Custom it was to enjoyn himself an hourly Task for private Devotion, Meditation, Speculation; with certain Actual or Manual Employments for Relief of himself and others.

No Hour of the Day was lost, which he might either spiritually or corporally improve; so serious he was in the due Expence of his Time, lest his Stock of Grace should decrease.

This it was moved holy *Hierom* to take a nightly account of himself, as every careful Householder should do of the Government of his Family; *O my Soul, what hast thou done to day?* Nay, to present to his Thoughts, by a deep apprehension of the Sound of the last Trump, that fearful Summons, *Arise, ye dead, and come to Judgment.*

But you will say, This familiar Converse with Death and Judgment, is better known to a Cell than a Court.

For the Habitation betwixt Heaven and a Cell (as one saith) holds such Contiguity, as their local Distance cannot divide them from a spiritual Society.

For the Prayers of the Saints (whencesoever such Saints are immured in those Cells) pierce the Heavens, and communicate a divine Blessing for that Peace-Offering: But to find

this Soul-solacing Devotion and spiritual Conversation reign in Princes Palaces, where we may commonly see a World of Men, but a Wilderness of good Men; where Sin, for the most part, gallants it in his Foot-Cloth; and where Vanity, with more than military Boldness, keeps her usual Rendezvous: This were a rare sight, and an Object deserving Admiration.

That *Athenian* Professor observing a Person descended from a Princely Family to enter his School, and in Arguments of Dispute, to express himself with much Facility and Elegancy, both a Philosopher, and, in Politicks, a State-Counsellor, returned this Relation to his Friend, as some rare and miraculous Occurrent; “ We have lately found in our Schools
“ (said he) an Object of stupendous wonder, a Prince, a Philosopher, and a Lawyer.

Yet all this might we truly, and without Assentation, instance in our late gracious Sovereign; for at such Hours as he reserved for philosophical Discourse, his Household Chaplains will witness thus much for him, That his Promptness and Pregnancy in all Arguments, approv'd him both an acute and solid Proficient. And for his Judgment in Law, what, without Ostentation, he spake of himself at the Bar, before that unpresidential President, may, by sundry judicious and
Learned

Learned Professors of the Law, be confirmed of him, that he knew our Laws as well as most of our Gentlemen in the Kingdom. For on these, as other Moral Studies, it was his usual Custom to bestow some select Hours, and to improve his Reading by Conference and Reasoning : which so highly enabled him (being richly indued with Quickness of Capacity and a retentive Memory) as no Argument, were it never so spiny, tending to Divine or Moral Discourse, could evade him, and these Disputes he pursued with such a becoming Modesty ; as no Opposition could beget in him the least of Passion, altho in Passages of Recreation and Pleasure, he might appear otherwise.

* It was a strange Vote, to wish all Kings Philosophers or all Philosophers Kings : and yet in him might we find these lively presented. A brave Contexture of State ; where Crowns are no less dignified by personal Worth than Imperial Stile. This makes Princes truly memorable to Posterity ; when their known Abilities, season'd with Humility, even in their Death, be it natural or violent, perpetuate their Memory.

* *Minutius* records of *Mercurius Trismegistus*, that even the Heathen, because he was a great Philosopher, would not use his Name without great Reverence : what Honour then is due to Philosophy when it goes cloath'd with Majesty ?

It is true, what was sometimes spoken of two *Roman* Emperours, of different Times and different Tempers.

The Learning of *Augustus* made his Courtiers Scholars; whereas the Ignorance of *Licinius* made his Followers Loiterers; so representative and reflecting too were the personal Examples of Princes Actions to their following Shadows. Albeit no Rule so general but admits some Exception. Experience may inform us that Princes may be Professors and able Proficients in Philosophy; and yet their Retainers meer Pretenders, Gloe-worms of the Time, and Pensioners to Vanity: these value Time at no higher rate than as a light Companion, whom they entertain more for Sport than Profit; whereas such precious Grains as fall from Times Cruet, are not to be so lightly scatter'd.

Now amidst these Hours so usefully disposed, as none could be better bestow'd, to the Improvement of any Person that presented Majesty; he told us, *That as his Morning Devotions took up the first, so he ever reserved the next for those Meditations which he had now in hand; for he conceived that no hours were more happy either to the Conceit or Memory, than those prime Rays of the Morning: For, said he, My Condition is not so clear from intrusive Cares, nor invasive Fears, which all the day long*
are

are encountering me, as to recollect my self at all hours. Thoughts devoted and dedicated to God, as they should be our Darlings, so are they to be digested when the Mind is most at quiet; for as it is impossible to fix ones bodily Eye both on Heaven and Earth at one time, so is it for the Eye of our inward Affection to reflect upon heavenly Affairs, and at that instant to be intangled with worldly Cares or temporary Fears. Albeit, I thank God, since my first bickering with these disloyal Affronts, which the braving Insolence of unciviliz'd Subjects, and those on whom I have in the plenteouset measure showr'd my Bounty and immerited Favour, have darted on me, I resolved with my self to entertain these transitory Crosses with transitive Cares; being sent to try me, not to foyl me; to beleagure, not surprize; for I beheld them far below me, therefore unfit to subdue me.

And as for those who persecuted me without a Cause, I accounted no otherwise of them than divine Epictetus did of his Two mortal Enemies Anitus and Mellitus; they might kill me, but they could not hurt me; they might seize upon my Person, but my Soul they could not touch.

Thus have you heard what choice Hours he reserved for this Exercise of Devotion; prime Thoughts were dedicated to prime Hours. With the first appearance of the Morning Sun, he prepared his Affections for

this spiritual Business, addressing it with a single and sincere Heart to that rising Sun of Righteousness, blessed for ever.

C H A P. VII.

How this Work, so far as he had continued it, came to be taken at Naseby, with other Papers, and private Letters of high Concern in his Cabinet, and how recovered.

IN the Field at *Naseby*, where the Battel was so variously carried, as to the Judgment of the approvedst Disciplinaries and Field-Officers that were in the Action of that Day, the Victory rather inclin'd for a long time to the conquer'd Party, than those who appeared afterwards Masters of the Field; nay, where an ancient Experienced Commander *, and a Man of Honour, one who had been bred up a Soldier, being at that time highly employed in the Prince's Service, and in the next Action at *Stom*, amongst others taken Prisoner, protested, that from his first Knowledge in Arms, he never knew a Battel close with

* Gen. *Ashley*.

with such a strange Event, contrary to all expectance: Neither to this hour (said he) can I find out the reason how his Majesty should lose the Day. For so confident was I of the utter Defeat and Rout of the Enemy, as no visible Design that ever I was put upon, could promise me more Assurance. So as I should heartily wish that his Majesty might be persuaded to desist from his further pursuit of Martial Affairs, and to compose these sad Distractions of his Kingdom by other mediating ways: For I plainly see, that the Hand of the Lord is not with us: And afterwards directing his Speech to the conquering Party: Nay, Gentlemen, the work is done, unless a Division among your selves discompose it.

There, I say, at *Naseby*, upon Discomfiture of his Majesty's Forces, amongst other rich Prizes, was this inestimable Gem, *The Continuation of his Divine Meditations*, which he had gone along with to the Success of that Day, seiz'd upon by the Enemy, with other Papers and Characters of concern, being inclosed in a Cabinet reserved for that purpose.

But such was the Benignity of the Conquerour, or Divine Providence rather, that would not suffer so excellent a Work to perish in Oblivion, nor to be exposed to

A rare Civility
from the hand of a
profest Enemy.

the

the rude rasing Hand of an illiterate Soldier, that it was recovered above all expectance, and returned to his Majesty's Hand; though the perusal of his Papers were left to a more racking Censure,

Which infinitely chear'd him amidst those insuccessive Events that accompanied his Forces; using these, or the like Words upon the regaining of them.

“ I see the gracious Eye of Heaven will
 “ not suffer me to be depriv'd of all Com-
 “ fort, though my own subdue me. Poste-
 “ rity shall see by these Papers, that I knew
 “ how to subdue my own Passion, and so-
 “ lace my self with divine Comforts in the
 “ height of my Affliction. Though my Ene-
 “ my gain'd the Field, a compos'd Patience
 “ shall crown me with a braver Victory than
 “ their Success had obtain'd of me. I know
 “ no Triumph more absolute than a Self-
 “ Conquest. And this it has pleased God,
 “ in all our sinister Occurrents, to enrich me
 “ with, against all Assailants. May I cease
 “ to be, when I cease to be his who wrought
 “ this Influence on me.

Thus did his princely Pen and Mind close in a sweet Sympathy.

It is true, what one well observed touching his Judgment of Books, That they were the best Counsellors, the best Companions;
 Coun-

Counsellours to advise us in all our Conditions, whether they were breath'd upon by more prosperous or adverse Gales. This it was that taught constant *Camillus*, neither to be transported with Honour, nor dejected by a dishonourable Censure; neither to be deluded by a light Favourite, nor over-aw'd by an imperious Command.

Having Strength enough to vanquish his Foe by smiling at Indignities; and with a patient supporting of what his Power could not revenge, purchase a seeming Conquest of his Conquerour. Neither be good and useful Books (for on such only we reflect) meerly Counsellours to instruct and prepare the Affection to retain an equal Temper or Composure in every Condition, but they know likewise how to act the Office of good Companions in Arguments and Helps of Discourse, in a fruitful Expende of precious Hours, by improving the Conceit, enriching the Memory, and inabling every Faculty to enter Lists upon any Subject of Discourse; for Books should not only be Deceivers, but Improvers of Time. Account we are to give, how we bestow our Hours: Light and frivolous Labours are to be held useless, nay, worthless, expenders of the shortest Minutes.

As in the Choice of our Acquaintance, so in our Approvement of Books ; such we are to receive into our Bosom, as by our familiar Entertainment of 'em, and Conference with 'em, we may become better'd, but in no particular depraved or corrupted by 'em. This it was which moved that learned, but unfortunate Statesman, (Sir *F.B.*) to distinguish Books by these Three Notions ; some were to be swallow'd, some eaten, others chew'd. Impertinent Discourses, such as afforded no Benefit, but brought with 'em a Danger to the Reader, such were to be swallowed, or perfunctorily perused, not so much as relished, lest the Appetite might be infected ; others there were to be eaten, in respect of their Benefit, but neither in such manner nor measure, as if those only were the Breasts of Nourishment ; whereas the last were to be chewed, or seriously ruminated, being such as ministered Comfort to the Spirit seasonably, suffer'd no inordinate Affection to domineer over the Will imperiously, but tended wholly to the Accomplishment of the Reader, effectually.

All which in this singular Work of Meditation and pious Devotion, any disinterested Judgment shall easily find ; for of this may be properly spoken, what was said (but in another sense) of *Euripides's* Tragedies,
So

So many Verses so many Sentences. A serious finewy Dialect without Affectation; a clear Method in the Discovery of his Princely Affection, with an excellent Contexture of every distinct Section, to his own Comfort and others Satisfaction.

But as it is no strange thing for religious Works to meet with the rigidest Censures, so a Person of high Command in this imperious Army was pleased to bestow this Censure upon this exquisite Piece, at his very first sight of it; saying, *It was a handsom piece of Hypocrisie*: Whereas it may appear to the whole World, that his Princely Pen hated nothing more than to play the subtle Sophister with his Soul.

How greatly then are we endeared to the Benefit of so unexpected a Recovery, to have such a precious Jewel retrieved, such an inestimable Treasure preserved from the Clutches of an imperious Enemy, as Reserve from the Spoil, which redounded highly to the deserving Honour and succeeding Memory of his Majesty; for by this means, such as were causlessly jealous of his Abilities, became satisfied upon the Survey of this incomparable Piece.

Though some there were (so deeply laid was the Tincture of their Malice towards his Person) as they desired nothing more than

to eclipse his Splendour, by dispersing Reports abroad, that this Work was none of his penning, but one of his Household Chaplains ; who, by his studious Endeavour, not only perfected, but, with all possible speed, procured it to be published, to beget an Esteem of Learning and Piety in his Master : as likewise to allay the Rigour of approaching Sentence at *Westminster* ; and, by this Work of his Devotion, to woo his Enemies to commiserate his Condition.

This, as those Pillow-Prophets hoped, upon Survey of his Abilities, might mould them to Compassion.

But their Device came too late : for this pretended Issue of his Brain fell to be his Posthumous ; so as it produced no such Effect as was expected. This has been lately with a confident Boldness reported by some (and those eminent Professors for the Publick) but how frivolous and malicious their Arguments appear, and with what facility evinced (being only grounded upon an inveterate Hate to his Majesty's Person) shall be clearly and demonstratively proved in the next Chapter of this our ensuing Discourse.

C H A P. VIII.

Satisfactory Reasons to rectifie their Judgment, and evince their Error, who entitle these his Majesty's Pious Princely Devotions to any other Author.

SO M E there be (and those of the principallest Favourites of our Grandees) who usually spread Reports, That his Majesty was no such Author of this Work. Only he might be acquainted with the zealous Affection of some pious Chaplain; who took upon him that Task, meerly to dignifie the Labour, and bring it into Request, by sending it abroad under his Prince's Name.

To delude the World too, they say that one Dr. *Harris* was the Composer of it; others assign it to Dr. *Hammond*. But these frivolous Commentings (for with a more proper Stile I cannot cloath them) may be easily answer'd and evinced, proceeding rather from Height and Heat of Spleen, whereby they strive, as much as in them lay, to impair the Abilities of his Majesty (who never in all his time sent forth his Lustre with that Fulness, as his Setting

ting upon Earth hath shown it) than any Ground of Truth, as to any unpreposseſſed Judgment may appear hereafter.

First, for Dr *Harris*, it is well known he had no relation to him : he might pretend it, but never had it.

Neither to the Hour of the publiſhing of it (which upon the firſt Impreſſion, by the ſingular Care of the Printer was exactly performed) had this ſuppoſed Author, I am confident, ſo much as the leaſt View of theſe Meditations : for during the Time that we were permitted to attend his Perſon, and ſince ſuch time as he firſt addreſſed his pious Pains to this Work, he had never any uſual Society with us, nor Acceſs to him who juſtly had Command over us.

And for Dr. *Hammond*, thoſe who read his Works, will freely confeſs, that no Idiom nor Dialect could be more different ; nor, to a diſcerning Judgment more diſcrepant than theſe of his Maſteſty's Meditations and Dr. *Hammond*'s Tractates or Sermons.

His Maſteſty (as may appear by his whole Labour) deſired nothing more than to be underſtood by his People, to remove all prejudicate Opinions ; and to ſatiſſie the whole World, that whatſoever he had done,

held

*Reſtè judicatur hic
mundus in nobis ſi opus
perfidorum hominum
non inveniatur in no-
bis. Ambroſ.*

held consistency with his Prerogative Royal, without so much as the least Intendment of incroaching upon his Subjects Liberties, or assuming to himself more Power than his Progenitors legally claimed.

In these he communicated his Pen freely, without any figurative Elegancy; which he oft times said was a meer trifling of Occasions, or mis-spending of precious Minutes.

His Condition was not to play with Paper, nor to present his Devotions to the Air; he rightly knew in what State he stood: To court the Parliament, he scorn'd it; and with a tinsel Zeal to court the Almighty, he abhorred it.

His Desire was to be the same he did outwardly seem. Vulgar Error could not make him less than he was; nor Pretenders to State-Improvement impeach his true Zeal to the State. He ever held him the best Pen-man, who with least Affectation communicated his own Sense.

Shall I really (without which Notion, nothing is here to your Judgments recommended) acquaint you with what he was pleased, and in his Table-discourse pleasingly disposed, to impart to some of us; that the Misery of a calamitous State had advantaged him as much in some particulars, as it had lost him “ For, “ said he, the pretended Loss of a State has
V
“ gained

gained me a Tongue. Passion, which made my Tongue usually inarticulate, is become a Stranger to me. My long and assiduate Course of Suffering, has taken me from an Opinion of Suffering. And in this I am happy, through a chearful embracing of mine Unhappiness. Neither, *said he*, is this all the Benefit that my present Infelicity has brought me; for this groundless Distaste of the Publick, has made me my own private Secretary.

"I am now become my own *Amanuensis*.

"My Abilities, tho mean, may now appear; for I have none to enable them. I have sometimes held it sufficient to dictate to a Pen; but now those Directories, by all Likelyhood, are to be estranged from me; I must accommodate my Garb to my present Fortunes; and conclude with this Impress; That Princes, in Distress, may not be ashamed to be their own Secretaries.

By these you may easily gather, That as his own Apprehension was most sensible of his own Injuries, so his own Pen represented it self the liveliest Discoverer of its Master's Indignities.

One told *Apelles*, who was to make him the Draught of a Ruined City, with a Reflex to his own Family; when that incomparable Artist

tist had presented to him the Mind or Idea of that Draught, that he might necessarily (if he intended to perfect the Draught) present himself to the full Body, otherwise he failed in the Display of those Calamities, both of the City and his own Family.

Small Doubt is to be made, but that the Sufferer has ever the readiest Pencil for Pourtraying his own Sufferings.

There is no Ear, at this time especially, when all Kingdoms have with a sad Admiration heard of this Prince's Tragedy; and all Christian States stand amazed at his unpresidential Tryal and Horrid Treason acted upon his Person with all Inhumanity; that have not received Notions too of this Prince's Worth; for Pregnancy of Wit, Solidity of Judgment, with a clear Disposition estranged from Vice and invested with Goodness; and in all (his Flexibility only excused, a known Frailty to Easie Natures) gracefully accomplished.

The Memory whereof (not to insist longer on them) cannot but leave a Deep Impression in his sorrowful Subjects, for the Loss of so absolute a Sovereign.

His Book, as it is here incomparably valued; so, by this time, in most Countries dispersed and translated into several Languages.

We may causlessly doubt of his Idiom; but I am confident, that no Foreign State (much more our own) who by Legation only have been known to his Abilities, but will condemn their Judgments either of Perverseness or Weakness, who hold him not a competent Author to such a pious and religious Labour.

Restraint to an unrestrained Spirit, begot a brave emphatical Passion in his Pen; Oh! that it had wrought like Impression by way of Compassion in his Subjects Hearts to his Regal Person!

As for those late Additions annexed to his Divine Meditations, they might with more Discretion have been silenced than published: being only familiar Expresses of Fatherly Affection to his Children: and those so digested, as if he meant not they should be divulged.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

His Divination of the Miseries that should befall this Kingdom by these Distractions.

WHAT true Presages, as if by Divine Revelation imparted, his Sacred Majesty foretold touching the Approaching Miseries of this distracted State (as they were to have Relation to the whole Kingdom in general, the City and Army) I shall here in the Conclusion of this Tract truly and briefly return you.

For the first he divined, that as a popular mixt State might seemingly at the first Aspect please the People, who were satisfied with nothing more than Parity by Equalling those who before Lorded it over them, so they would find themselves much disappointed of what they expected, and whereon they rested; when those who pretended for the Publick, should appear meer Advancers of their own private Ends, by labouring rather to impose new Burthens on them, than to ease them: and by their Arbitrary Power, in the End to enslave them.

They should find that their own Favourites should bear the Sway, and that their Servile Condition should have good Cause to bemoan their Change of Government : Fishing in troubled Waters suited better with stirring Spirits than Persons of a Plebeian Condition. Taking off Assesses, Levies and Free-quarterings, might appear plausible Aims, but there was a Rad in the Straw Pressures and Impositions of that Nature, might more easily lose their Name than their Weight.

This their depressed Shoulders should in short time feel, tho their Hopes of an Infranchised Estate lulled them asleep and secured them from Danger.

Innovation to itching Ears and Soldiers of Fortune, whose only Harvest was in time of Division, might bring glad Tidings, but Traffick and honest Manufactory should find what it was to have no King : which, by means of an irregular Liberty, would in time erect such a State, as would produce Nurseries for Thieves by Land, and Pirates by Sea ; Merchants and their Factors should be sure to suffer : for what Foreign State would trust them abroad, who had either play'd the Traitors, or acquiesced to Treason at home ?

Innovation

Innovation seldom begets a Reformation, especially where a Monarchy was to be shaped into an Anarchieal Parity, which he was pleas'd to illustrate by this Witty and Sprightly Instance.

One earnestly desiring *Lycurgus* to establish a popular State in *Lacedamon*, that the basest might have as great Authority as the highest, was thus answer'd by him, *Begin to do so first in thine own House*; which he refused, and thereby saw the Injustice of his own Demand.

“ Now to descend (*said he*) to our Hierarchy or Church-Government, I am verily perswaded, that Spiritual Enemy, whose only Husbandry it is to sow ill Seed in the Lord's Field, needs as little Agency for Dispatch of his Business, as ever he did since he was a fallen Angel.

“ He has Instruments in every corner for him, who would be loth but to see their Master's Work done. Christ's seamless Coat cannot suit with Division. False Pretences of Reformation, will make our Church become a sorrowful Turtle, in bemoaning with Widows Tears, her approaching Desolation.

“ The Source of Heresie may be properly
 “ drawn from the like Principles; as *Thucydi-*
 “ *des* said the Plague did in his time; *The*
 “ *Disease that settled in the Head, easily pass’d*
 “ *through all the Body.* This might at the
 “ first sight reflect upon my self, but my
 “ Conscience will witness with me, that I
 “ am clear of it.

“ My Desire was to continue that esta-
 “ blish’d Protestant Religion which so many
 “ Years with such Uniformity has been
 “ profess’d in our Kingdom, both in the flou-
 “ rishing peaceful Times of our late memo-
 “ rable Predecessors, as to this disconsolate
 “ Period of our own.

“ No, it was my own Native Country
 “ which, induc’d rather by Avarice than any
 “ sincere Zeal, invaded our Kingdom, where
 “ they were resolv’d rather to sojourn than
 “ to engage their Persons; for to render
 “ them truly, rather to feed than fight. For
 “ so our Sect (*who has eternally dishonour’d*
 “ *his Nation by our Sale*) express himself in
 “ all his martial Designs: From which Ex-
 “ press I may properly compare him to the
 “ *Fish Stove*, mention’d by *Plutarch*, *That has*
 “ *a Body like a Sword, but wants an Heart.*

“ For

“ For the City, Gentlemen, hear how I
“ divine of it: As it has opened her Bosom
“ freely to numerous Recruits, in hopes of
“ preserving her private Coffers; so those
“ whom she reliev’d, and by her sinewy For-
“ tunes strengthened, shall be the only means
“ to exhaust her.

“ She shall entertain such Guests in her
“ Bosom, as shall feed on her, and gratifie
“ her Hospitality at their Farewell, with a
“ down-right Courtship of Hostility. If the
“ City’s affable and bounteous Entertainment
“ produce not this Issue, I am deceiv’d in
“ my Conjecture; but Time will bring this
“ to a speedy Discovery.

“ That Magistracy which has hitherto been
“ held inviolate, must, by all probability fall
“ into Contempt, their Sword committed to
“ a strange Hand, and their City-Guardian
“ to a Guard of the Tower.

“ Such shall be the Misery of a desolate
“ City, that out of a mad, groundless Zeal,
“ more pretensive than real, deserted their
“ Loyalty.

“ As for the Army, Imployment must ei-
“ ther prevent it, or Faction will destroy it.
“ The Loss of one *Cæsar* (if their bloody
“ Attempts pitch that way) shall beget ma-
“ ny in their Army.

“The Presbyterian must not hold himself
 “secure, while the Independent sits at Stern:
 “Nor the Independent free from Fear, so
 “long as the Leveller, with the plausible
 “Promises of a pleasing Parity, suggests to
 “the Commons of *England* (as if it were
 “the Year of *Jubile*) the Enjoyment of a
 “lawless and indisputable Liberty. A Ser-
 “pent must eat a Serpent before he be a
 “Basilisk: So these must devour one ano-
 “ther, or, to proclaim to the World that
 “prodigious Birth of Disorder, perish to-
 “gether.

Thus has his Majesty really divined, and with passionate Sighs presented to the Throne of Grace, petition'd, that these approaching Miseries might be timely prevented; protesting, That he was more sensible of the fatal Fruits he apprehended now issuing from a ruin'd State, than of all those Injuries that could be inflicted upon his own Person.

The representment of these may justly convey all integrious Thoughts to two several Objects, *Grief* and *Fear*.

Grief, for the Loss of so pious, indulgent, and gracious a Prince, whose Blood was only held fit to appease the implacable Fury of a remorseless Enemy. Secondly, *Fear* of God's heavy Judgments, when he shall make Inquisition for Blood, and call this sinful Land to

a strict account for shedding such innocent Blood.

He it is will revenge it, who has vow'd it, *Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it.*

The Lord for his Mercy sake withdraw these Viols of his Wrath from us.

*the Year of Justice, the Enjoyment of a Liberty, A Ser-
gent must eat a garb, before he be a
Rat, so that must devour one ano-
ther, as to proclaim to the World that
the Lord is the Lord of the World, and to*

*and
with passionate eyes directed to the Throne
of State, and that these approaching
Ministers might be timely prevented, pro-
fiting. That he was more sensible of the fatal
Fires he was drawing from a*

*mind state than of all those injuries that
could be inflicted upon his own Person.*

*The repentment of these may justly
convey all dangerous Thoughts to two leve-
l Object, first and last
God) for the Loss of his pious, indulgent
and gracious Prince, whose Blood was only*

*held fit to appease the implacable Fury of a
remonstrant Enemy. Secondly, Fear of God's
heavy judgments, when he shall make Inqui-
sition for Blood, and call this sinful Land to*

Speaker LENTHAL,

HIS

Death-Bed Repentance.

SIR,

WHEN I came to his presence he told me, *He was very glad to see me; for he had two great Works to do, and I must assist him in both: to fit his Body for the Earth, and his Soul for Heaven; to which purpose he desired me to pray with him. I told him the Church had appointed an Office at the Visitation of the Sick, and I must use that; he said, Yes, He chiefly desired the Prayers of the Church; wherein he joined with great Fervency and Devotion. After Prayers he desired Absolution; I told him I was very ready and willing to pronounce it; but he must first come to a Christian Confession and Contrition for the Sins and Failings of his Life: Well Sir, said he, then instruct me to my Duty. I desired him to examine his Life by the ten Commandments,*

and

and wherein he found his Failings, to fly to the Gospel for Mercy. Then I read the *ten Commandments* in order to him, mentioning the principal Sins against each Commandment. To pass by other things (under the Seal of this Office) when I came to the fifth Commandment, and remember'd him that Disobedience, Rebellion and Schism were the great Sins against this Commandment, *Yes Sir*, said he, *There's my Trouble, my Disobedience, not against my natural Parents, but against the Pater Patriæ, our deceased Sovereign. I confess, with Saul, I held their Clothes, whilst they murdered him, but herein I was not so criminal as Saul was; for, God, thou knowest! I never consented to his Death; I ever pray'd and endeavour'd what I could against it; but I did too much, Almighty God forgive me!* I then desired him to deal freely and openly in that Business, and if he knew any of those Villains that plotted or contrived that horrid Murther, who were not yet detected, now to discover them; He answered, *He was a Stranger to that Lustiness; his Soul never enter'd into that Secret; but what concerns my self (said he) I will confess freely. Three things are especially laid to my charge, wherein indeed I am too guilty; That I went from the Parliament to the Army; That I proposed the bloody Question for trying the KING, and that I sat after the King's Death. To the First I may give this Answer; That Cromwell*
and

and his Agents deceiv'd a wiser Man than myself, that **EXCELLENT KING**, and then might well deceive me also; and so they did. I knew the **Presbyterians** would never restore the **KING** to his just **RIGHTS**; those Men swore they would. For the Second, no Excuse can be made; but I have the **KING's** Pardon, and I hope Almighty God will shew me his Mercy also. **Tet, SIR,** said he, even then, when I put the Question, I hoped the very putting the Question would have cleared him; because, I believed Four for One were against it; but they deceiv'd me also. To the Third I make this candid Confession, That it was my own Baseness and Cowardise and unworthy fear to submit my Life and Estate to the Mercy of those Men that **murther'd** the **KING**, that hurried me on against my own **Conscience** to act with them; yet then I thought also I might do some Good, and hinder some Ill. **or** Something I did for the Church and Universities, something for the **KING**, when I broke the Oath of Abjuration, as Sir O. B. and your self know; something also too for his Return, as my Lord G. Mr. J. T. and your self know. But the Ill I did, over-weigh'd the little Good I would have done; God forgive me for this also. After this, I remembered him, That the Fathers of the Church also had been barbarously murther'd and ruin'd; and ask'd whether he had any Hand, or gave any Consent therein? He answer'd, None; for he al-

ways;

ways did believe, that was the Primitive and best Government of the Church; and said, *He dyed a dutiful Son of the Church of England, as it was establish'd before these times; for he had not yet seen the Alteration of the Liturgy.* After this Office, wherein indeed he shew'd himself a very hearty Penitent, he again desired the Absolution of the Church, which I then pronounced and which he received with much Content and Satisfaction: *For, says he, Now, now indeed do I find the Joy and Benefit of that Office which Christ hath left in his Church.* Then praying for the KING, that he might long and happily reign over us, and for the Peace of the Church he again desired Prayers. The next day he received the Sacrament, and after that work I desired him to express himself to Dr. Dickenson (a learned Physician, Fellow of *Merton* College, who received the Sacrament with him) concerning the King's Death, because he had only done it to me in Confession; which he did to the same Effect as he had to me. The rest of his time was spent in Devotion and Penitential Meditations to his last.

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